WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

LIBRARY.

WITHDRAWN
WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

No......

Accession No. 187245

BOUGHT WITH THE INCOME FROM THE
FUND ESTABLISHED BY

REV. ALBERT SANFORD HUNT, D. D.
(CLASS OF 1851)

WESLEYAN
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/rumromancerebell0000char

RUM, ROMANCE & REBELLION

RUM, ROMANCE & REBELLION

BY

CHARLES WILLIAM TAUSSIG

Drawings by Philip Kappel

MINTON, BALCH & COMPANY
NEW YORK : : : 1928

COPYRIGHT, 1928,
BY
MINTON, BALCH & COMPANY

187745

Printed in the United States of America by
J. J. LITTLE AND IVES COMPANY, NEW YORK

TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER
A MAN WHO DID JUSTLY, LOVED MERCY
AND WALKED HUMBLY

SEP 1 2 1934

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION xi

CHAPTER

I—RUM IN THE COLONIES 1

II—THE MOVING POWER OF RUM . . 29

III—RUM, THE SPIRIT OF '76 57

IV—COLONIAL RUM TRADERS AND RUM RUNNERS 81

V—WHAT HAPPENED ON THE AFRICAN COAST 115

VI—SLAVE TRADE 147

VII—SLAVE SHIPS 167

VIII—RUM IN THE TAVERN AND THE HOME 201

IX—RUM AND COLONIAL IMMORALITY . 231

X—CONCLUSION 247

APPENDIX

I—BIBLIOGRAPHY 253

II—LETTERS TO A RHODE ISLAND MERCHANT OF THE 18TH CENTURY . . 265

III—TRADE BOOK OF THE SLOOP *Adventure* 273

INDEX 285

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
"You may as well preach to the Indians against rum as to our people"	9
Benjamin Franklin's Punch Barrel	19
"Drams, grog and sotting were not diminished"	28
A slave kaffle	55
"Evidently primed with flip and toddy"	73
"Did Peter slap his fair round belly and chuckle when he named the snow Jolly Bachelor?"	85
Map of the west coast of Africa, reproduced from an engraving made in 1791	117
"The cloaking of insidious and inhuman practices with the white mantle of religion"	121
Captive negroes, secured by bamboo withes	135
Plan of the *Brookes,* showing how negroes were stowed between decks	169
Shackles and Instruments of Torture used on Slave Ships	175
"Ready at all times for fight or flight"	193

PAGE

"A slaver fleeing from a man-of-war would throw over slaves, several at a time" . . 197

Tavern sign-board 207

Drinking Paraphernalia of the Colonial Tavern 225

"The fiddler fiddles and we dance" . . . 235

INTRODUCTION

Quite aside from the political and social significance of Prohibition, rum (that specific beverage and not its current, all-inclusive meaning), has had an astonishing influence on the history of the United States. With that thought in mind, I set about to marshal all of the well-known and most of the little-known facts concerning rum. The resultant, formidable and copious notes, I found to be closely connected, one to another, so that it required much less of the narrator's magic than I had expected, to weave them into the warp and woof of romantic historical whole-cloth; cloth, it is true, that turns out to be the same old material, but with a different texture and sheen.

Throughout our history, from Columbus to the Civil War, we are constantly confronted with rum or its social, political and economic by-products. It runs through the events of that epoch as an ever-recurrent theme, though I have found no one who has until now attempted to use it as the primary theme.

Throughout our early history flows the stream of mellow rum. Whether for good or evil, it is there, and we are forever coming upon short, decisive comments by competent authorities regarding

its significance. Woodrow Wilson wrote, "Out of cheap molasses of the French Islands, she [New England] made *the rum which was the chief source of her wealth*—the rum with which she bought slaves for Maryland and the Carolinas, and paid her balances to the English merchants." John Adams wrote: "General Washington always asserted and proved that Virginians loved molasses as well as New Englanders did. I know not why we should blush to confess that molasses [the raw material for making rum] was an essential ingredient in American independence. Many great events have proceeded from much smaller causes."

Rum has done much to stimulate the pages of history, for where we find rum, we find action, sometimes cruel, sometimes heroic, sometimes humorous, but always vigorous and interesting. Introspecting and honest New Englanders summed up a phase of contemporaneous hypocrisy, the religious cloak wrapped around their slave-trading, with the phrase "Missionaries on deck and rum in the hold." And Cowper played with a similar thought, in verse:

"I own I am shocked at the purchase of slaves;
And fear those who buy them and sell them are knaves;
What I hear of their hardships, their tortures and groans;
Is almost enough to draw pity from stones.

I pity them greatly, but I must be mum,
For how could we do without sugar and rum?"

Rum, both as a beverage and as a medium of exchange, appears to have released the energies of brave men, and much of that strength and resource was used in creating our western civilization.

C. W. T.

NOTE

In order that the continuity of the text might not be broken by numerals, marks and footnotes, I have appended at the end of the book a bibliography of the references used. These are arranged according to chapters. In most instances, direct quotations and abstracts are credited in the text.

CHAPTER I

RUM IN THE COLONIES

"There's naught no doubt so much the spirit cheers,
As rum and true religion."

—Byron.

CHAPTER I

RUM IN THE COLONIES

ONE who regards rum as an important factor in the founding of the American Commonwealth, finds the gross misuse of the word today painful. Classification of all beverages containing over one-half per cent alcohol as rum is an abuse of American tradition that cannot be disregarded, even though sanctioned by the Anti-Saloon League, various associations for or against the Prohibition Amendment, and alliterators who revel in Rum Row, Rum Runners and Rum Running.

Rum is an alcoholic beverage that has won a place for itself in American history, both social and political, and it is grave injustice to so potent a figure in our national life to make its name serve as a mere journalistic jingle to designate such alien liquors as Scotch, Kümmel and Schnaaps.

It is not the purpose of this book to plead the cause of rum, nor to condemn it, but to throw a beam of truth on its niche in American history. There is in the sweet aromatic redolence of old rum, a mystic charm, a soft soothing fragrance

that beguiles one into forgetting its more sinister and vicious history. Perhaps now and then, certain predilections of mine creep in, but if they do—ah, well, they are but generous thoughts that in this hellish drink with the heavenly bouquet there lurks the spirit of some joyous revelry.

Sombre, hard-working, hard-living New Englanders indulged freely in rum. They had many inhibitions, and drinking punch, flip and blackstrap was without doubt a pleasant method of sublimation. The ministers were not averse to enlivening ordinations and other meetings of the clergy and elders with a goodly supply of rum, and later I will offer as evidence, tavern bills and quotations from contemporary records.

The name "rum" is without doubt American; in fact, it is an early manifestation of the American fancy for abbreviation, having been derived from a West Indian word, "rumbullion." An early periodical (1676) describing the Island of Barbados, states. "The chief fudling they make in the island is Rumbullion, alias Kill-Divil, and this is made of sugar canes distilled, a hot, hellish and terrible liquor."

About 1684, Thomas Tenison, an English ecclesiast, later Archbishop, wrote and published twenty-seven of what he termed "Philosophical Letters upon Several Occasions." He had much to say in several of these letters regarding the sugar, molasses and rum industry of the West Indies,

particularly of Barbados. The following example of his works not only gives us an early treatise on the manufacture of rum, but also introduces a drink which, I venture to remark, has never been thought of by even our most adventurous and inventive "scofflaws", namely, the forgotten brew magnificently called "Coow Woow." But let Mr. Tenison speak for himself:

"Now the Scums, Dregs and excrementitious Parts [of the sugar-cane juice] which are separated from the finer and more essential parts, in making of Sugar are of some value, for from the same being fermented and distilled, is extracted a strong Spirit which they call Rumm; so that you see Sir that the Juice of the Cane, by Art and extream Labour is made into three considerable Commodities, viz, Sugar, Treacle and Rumm, beside which the Servants and Negroes, make a very good Drink with Molosses, Water and some Ginger worked up altogether, the Strength being in proportion to the Quantity of Molosses put in, (as our Beer or Ale is stronger or smaller, according to the Quantity of Malt) and this drink is called by the Indian name of Coow Woow, the same being altogether as wholsom as our Ale and rather stronger than the common sorts of Drinks made of Molosses, Sugar and the Juices of Fruits, yet this is one of the best and wholsomest, if it be not kept till it be too stale; but it being the cheapest and most common, is sufficient reason with most

that have the wherewithal to make more chargeable Liquors, to reject it."

Mr. Tenison has more to say about rum, to which strangely enough he now only allots one "m", and, in the same paragraph, expresses his views upon another vice of the time. He is writing about the treatment of the slaves in the West Indies:

"And give me leave to tell you Sir, nothing has been more hurtful and injurious to your Plantations, than the unkind Usage and hard Labour you put your Black Women to, whose preservation, health and strength, you ought to have made your main Study: But you on the contrary, have doubled their Burdens and what you unwarily design for their preservation, manifestly leads to their Distruction; for tho' after those intollerable Works and Fatigues you give them Rum, which at present is a little refreshing, yet you cannot but know it is distructive to Nature, wasting the Vitals, and an Enemy of Propagation; So much of it in respect to Women Kind. I am loath to be particular with you Sir, in respect to Negro Men, and your plying of them with this destructive Liquor; and that upon Sundays too, to very bad purpose: And tho' your Intention herein be to perpetuate their Servetude, etc. the very Methods you take to do it, by such indulging of them in this excess of Drinking, at the same time proves very frequently your Disappointment, and their Death:

And as you cannot but be convinced of the truth hereof, so I appeal to your own experience, whether your allowing of Polygamy, or plurality of Wives to your Black Slaves, doth any ways answer your end in the multiplication of Servants thereby, I very much doubt the contrary, and that 'tis the ready way to lose both the Root and Branch, nothing being more destructive to Humane Nature, than the immoderate use of Venery, which upon the persecuting of a fresh Object, etc. is usually provoked beyond all due bounds, to the manifest enervation and decay of the Man, from whom no vigorous Issue can be expected; and if any at all, seldom or never comes to Maturity."

¶

Whatever may have been the reason for the original migration of the Puritans to New England, by the latter part of the seventeenth century religious freedom had become but a lofty abstraction and freedom of trade and the safeguarding of what might then have been called "big business" had become the motivating force of the colonies.

Charles Francis Adams supports this point of view by emphasizing that the organization of the Massachusetts colony was distinctly and indisputably legal, commercial and corporate; and not religious, ecclesiastical or feudal.

The very sources which prove the materialistic

origin of our country made not the slightest attempt to conceal the facts but eloquently set forth the courage, stamina and loyalty with which our forefathers created their ideal, albeit materialistic, state. The northern colonists lived a hard and solemn life; their religion was stern and honest, rich in dogma, but poor in spirit. It was well suited to a young country bent on building up a lucrative and self-sufficing trade. It provided definite rules of conduct; regulated all mundane endeavour; definitely and unerringly took complete charge of the soul, leaving the brain free to create and develop commerce. The solace and comfort that more humane religion affords was found in the grosser amenities of life, libidinous divertissements, and heavy drinking in particular. John Adams, who can be relied upon as a fair and impartial observer of those times, wrote shortly after the Revolution:

"Fifty-three years ago I was fired with a zeal, amounting to enthusiasm, against ardent spirits, the multiplication of taverns, retailers and dram-shops and tippling-houses. Grieved to the heart to see the number of idlers, thieves, sots and consumptive patients made for the use of physicians, in these infamous seminaries, I applied to the Court of Sessions, procured a committee of inspection and inquiry, reduced the number of licensed houses, etc. But I only acquired the reputation of a hypocrite and an ambitious dema-

"You may as well preach to the Indians against rum as to our people."

gogue by it. The number of licensed houses was soon reinstated, drams, grog and sotting were not diminished, and remain to this day as deplorable as ever. You may as well preach to the Indians against rum as to our people."

¶

One may assume, and with considerable authority, that rum drinking in the northern colonies was an important supplement to the general activities of the people. It provided a pleasant and convenient means of escape from the harsh realities of their existence. But in the southern colonies, Virginia in particular, tippling was an integral part of life. It served to enhance and brighten the easy, languid, gentlemanly life on the large plantations. The negroes did the hard work and their masters the hard drinking.

The wealthy gentleman arose about nine in the morning and before breakfast would exert himself leisurely to the extent of walking back to his stables, which were usually about fifty yards from the house, and looking over his horses. He would return for breakfast some time before ten. This meal consisted of tea or coffee, bread and butter and very thin slices of venison, ham or hung beef. After breakfast he would lie down on a pallet on the floor, in the coolest room in the house. Clad only in his shirt and trousers, he would take his ease, a

negro at his head and one at his feet, fanning him meanwhile to keep the flies away. Shortly after noon he would drink some bombo, sometimes called toddy, consisting of rum, sugar, water and nutmeg, which was made weak and kept cool.

Between two and three he would dine, usually on ham, greens and cabbage. With this meal he quenched his thirst with cider, toddy, punch, port, claret or Madeira, and would then retire with his two blacks to fan him and continue to drink toddy or sangaree all the afternoon. Between nine and ten in the evening he had a light supper, consisting of milk and fruit, or wine, sugar and fruit, and would then retire for the night.

The lower and middle classes in Virginia followed a somewhat different routine. The man rose about six o'clock and started the day with a "julap" made of rum, water and sugar, "but very strong." He would then walk or ride round his plantation, inspecting his flocks and crops. At ten he had his breakfast consisting of cold turkey, cold meat, fried hominy, toast, cider, ham, bread and butter, and tea, coffee or chocolate. The rest of the day he spent in the manner of the wealthy gentleman, excepting that cider took the place of wine at dinner and that he never ate supper.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of the intoxicating drinks of the old world were common in the new. Wines and malt liquors were abundant. The wines were for the

most part imported although an attempt was made to cultivate grapes in Virginia. Vine-growers were sent from France to Virginia as early as 1621 by the London Company for the purpose of instructing the people in the art of grape cultivation. This and later attempts at wine making in the colonies proved unsuccessful. Breweries were established in New England, the malt being imported. Here was made ale and beer after the fashion of the famous brews of old England. The Dutch in New York found brewing profitable and it became an important industry. Home-brewing was indulged in by private families throughout the colonies, who either imported or grew their own barley and hops. In Virginia, in the early seventeenth century, they made a sort of ale from corn which was said to compare favorably with English beer. Lack of skill and materials gave rise to many strange beverages, and the modern home-brewer may find exotic ideas in the following paragraph written by Governor Berkeley of Virginia, concerning light drinking propensities in the early eighteenth century:

"Their small-drink is either wine or water, beer, milk and water, or water alone. The richer sort generally brew their small-beer with malt, which they have from England, though barley grows there very well; but for the want of convenience of malt-houses, the inhabitants take no care to sow it. The poorer sort brew their beer with molasses

and bran; with Indian corn malted with drying in a stove; with persimmons dried in a cake and baked; with potatoes with the green stalks of Indian corn cut small and bruised, with pumpkins, with the Jerusalem artichoke which some people plant purposely for that use, but this is the least esteemed."

New England also adopted these home-brew recipes and in addition made spruce, birch, and sassafras beer, "boiled with scores of roots and herbs, with birch, spruce or sassafras bark, with pumpkin and apple parings, with sweetening of molasses or maple syrup or beet tops and other makeshifts."

Of the wines, Madeira was the favorite in the middle Atlantic and southern colonies, and in all the colonies, Canary, Claret, Port, Burgundy, Brandy, Malaga, Sack and Sherry were in demand. Excellent beverages were made from blackberries, cherries, wild grapes and peaches. Mead, also known as Metheglin (fermented honey), a most ancient drink, was made and greatly enjoyed in the colonies. On the borderline between "small drink" and "ardent spirits" was cider, which in point of volume was the most popular colonial drink, particularly in the north.

Cider was first made by pounding the apples in wooden mortars; the pomace being afterwards pressed in baskets. Later, crude mills crushed the apples in a hollow log, and about 1650 the first

cider presses made their appearance. At that time, apples were six to eight shillings a bushel; cider 1s. 8d. a gallon—as high-priced, notes Earle, as New England rum a century later. Josselyn chronicles in his journal that Henry Wolcott of Windsor, Connecticut, had a large orchard and made annually five hundred small hogsheads of cider. In 1648, Wolcott received 2s. 8d. per gallon, but thirty years later the production had increased to such an extent that he had to be content with 10s. a barrel. By 1700, cider frequently sold as low as 6s. per barrel, so great was the production. Cider was consumed by all ranks of society and consumption kept well up to the production. In 1721, a Massachusetts village of forty families made 3000 barrels of cider.

About this time, rum began to make heavy inroads into the popularity of cider as the ranking colonial tipple. Rum from the West Indies had always been a most important factor in trade. The eighteenth century brought in the manufacture of New England rum, with, as Weeden emphasizes, "far-reaching consequences, social as well as economical." Molasses could be brought to New England and distilled into rum to better advantage than in the West Indies. In Connecticut, in 1727, the demand for molasses for distilling was so great that the price of that essential commodity advanced considerably. The authorities found it necessary for that reason and on the

grounds that the rum was "usually unwholesome" to prohibit distilling. Business was so adversely affected that the law was repealed within six months. In 1738, the great Burke said: "The quantity of spirits which they distill in Boston from molasses which they import is as surprising as the cheapness at which they sell it, which is under two shillings a gallon; but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness than for the excellency of their rum." Another blow at tradition! ("Good Old New England Rum!") There were at that time eight distilleries in Boston and in Newport a thriving business was being done in molasses and rum. Long Wharf "was alive with molasses coming in and rum going out."

Rum was the currency of the slave trade, which in turn was the backbone of New England commerce. I will dwell at some length on this trade in subsequent chapters. "In whatever branch of trade we find ourselves," writes Weeden, "we are impressed by the immense prevalence and moving power of rum. Negroes, fish, vessels, lumber, inter-colonial traffic in produce, all feel the initiative and moving impulse of rum." In 1750, when the movement was at its peak, there were 63 distilleries in Massachusetts making rum out of molasses. It was merchandise in Guinea, on the banks of Newfoundland, in the southern colonies, in exchange for furs with the Indians, as ship's

store for about nine hundred vessels engaged in many different trades. In the summer, two hundred vessels were employed in mackerel fishing for the West Indies, four hundred vessels were employed in cod-fishing, and one hundred ships were pursuing whales on the North American coast. "Rum was the moving agent in these various summer voyages," and during the winter the same vessels were sent to the southern colonies, to barter the liquor for corn, bread, pork and other provisions for the voyages of the following summer. The whole commercial fabric was immersed in rum. Half of the codfish catch was refuse eagerly consumed by slaves in the West Indies, where it was sent in return for more molasses to be made into rum. It not only stimulated man, but trade as well. Rum, the better grade, went to Europe, southern Europe particularly, "for specie and desirable goods." Rum was sent to Guinea for gold, which paid the balance of trade to England, and for slaves which were sold in the West Indies for molasses, sugar, indigo or bills of exchange; also it was used to liquidate the balances of a one-sided trade with England.

A typical inter-colonial trading voyage is the record of the Bathias in 1755 from Philadelphia to Boston and thence to Newfoundland. She carried to Boston 1½ tons bar iron, 261 barrels flour, 250 bushels corn, 1500 staves, 10 barrels, 5 kegs and 397 pounds bread. To the fishing grounds,

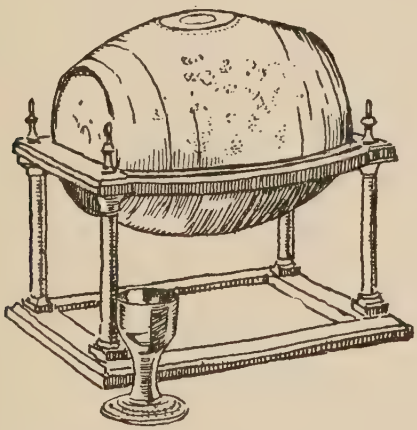
she took the corn, staves and the 397 pounds of bread. The flour was reduced to 195 barrels, and in the place of this, 12 hogsheads and 2 barrels of rum and 6 hogsheads of molasses were added. Weeden remarks, "There is little doubt that this substitution of rum for food affected the whole business of commercial exchange in this period, Between the derangement of an inflated currency and the diversion of productive industry to distilling and its collateral slave importation, the building of vessels and the catch of fish fell off. The waste of the Louisburg and Canada wars helped—as we see from the rates of insurance and losses by underwriting,—but the main cause of the decline in these important industries must be found in rum."

In 1723, New York was a large importer of rum and molasses. Rum, molasses and sugar were brought in from Barbados, Jamaica, Curaçoa, and Surinam, all of which, according to a contemporary record, was used for local consumption in that province.

The early settlers found that it was to their best interests to prohibit the sale of rum to the Indians, as it elevated them to the point where their instincts for wielding an axe and collecting scalps became too apparent. Of course, when transacting special business, such as purchasing real estate and furs, or making treaties, the prohibition laws were suspended unofficially. Benja-

min Franklin writes vividly of early dependence on rum for the furtherance of our political well-being. Of his experience in making a treaty with the Indians, he relates in his autobiography:

"As the people are extremely apt to get drunk, and when so, are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling of any liquor to them; and when they complained of this restric-



Benjamin Franklin's Punch Barrel.

tion, we told them that if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when business was over. They promised this, and kept their promise, because they could get no liquor, and the treaty was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon; they were near one hundred

men, women and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square, just without the town. In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walk'd out to see what was the matter. We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. Their dark-colour'd bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of Hell that could well be imagin'd; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight, a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice.

"The next day, sensible they had misbehav'd in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counselors to make their apology. The orator acknowledg'd the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavored to excuse the rum by saying, 'The Great Spirit, who made all things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he design'd any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, "Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with", and it must be so.' And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages, in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems

not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea coast."

Perhaps on the Day of Judgment, the Great Spirit will decide the Indians' excuse for getting drunk to be less specious and more moral than the reason of the "cultivators of the earth" for making the Indian drunk and robbing him of his land. John Woolman saw through our inherent hypocrisy, saying of this perfidious treatment of the Indians: "I perceived that many white people often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe is a great evil. In the first place, they are thereby deprived of the use of reason, and their spirits being violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief and the bitterness and resentment occasioned hereby are frequently of long continuance. Again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, they often sell at a low rate for more rum, when they become intoxicated; and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who, for the sake of gain, took advantage of their weakness. Their chiefs have often complained of this in their treaties with the English."

William Penn wrote to the Earl of Sutherland in 1683: "Ye Dutch, Sweed, and English have by Brandy and Specially Rum, almost Debaucht ye Indians all. When Drunk ye most Wretched

of Spectacles. They have been very tractable but Rum is so dear to them."

In 1754, war with France being imminent, a congress of commissioners was ordered to be assembled at Albany to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, concerning the means of defending their country and the colonies. During the lengthy conference, which lasted for many days, a Mohawk chief made the following plea regarding the selling of rum to the Indians:

"Brethren: There is an Affair about which our Hearts tremble and our minds are deeply concerned; this is the Selling of Rum in our Castles. It destroys many, both of our Old and Young people.—We request of all the Governments here present, that it may be forbidden to carry any of it amongst the Five Nations.

"Brethren: We are in great Fears about this Rum, it may cause Murder on both sides. We don't want it to be forbid to be sold us in Albany, but that none may be brought to our Castles.

"The Cayougas now declare in their own name, that they will not allow any Rum to be brought up their River, and those who do must take the Consequences."

How familiar that seems! The Braves and Chiefs at a convention in Albany want assurance that they can have plenty of rum while on a visit to the big city but they plead "keep it away from the folks at home."

Continues the Chief: "Brethren—We the Mohawks of both Castles have also one request to make, which is that the people who are settled round about us may not be Suffered to sell our People Rum; it keeps them all poor, makes them Idle and Wicked, and if they have any Money or Goods they lay it all out in Rum; it destroys Virtue and the progress of Religion amongst us. We have a friendly request to make to the Governor and all the Commissioners here present—that they will help us to Build a Church at Cannojohery and that we may have a Bell in it, which together with the putting a stop to the Selling of Rum, will tend to make us Religious and lead better lives than we do now."

Several days later, Colonel Johnson, a spokesman for the Colonists, replied to the Indians:

"Brethren of the Six Nations—I take this opportunity to return you the three Belts of Wamp. Sent by you to the Governour, with a request to hinder the Rum from comeing among you. He was verry glad to gratifie you in it, and that you had seen the ill Consequences of that bewitching Liquor, and hopes you will Continue in that Resolution always, the Proclamation forbidding Rum to be Sent, or Sold Any Where among you (Except at Oswego) is already published."

Brother Warraghiiyiagee now replies for the Indians:

"We Return you a great many thanks for stop-

ping the Rum coming to the Six Nations and would be verry glad the same Prohibition would have effect at Osswego."

Colonel Johnson then explained that for the present they could not prohibit the sale of Rum at Oswego, inasmuch as "it would do great pleasure to the French, while we were forbid to sell Rum at Osswego, they sold what they thought fitt at Niagara." He suggested that the Indians first arrange with the French to stop selling Liquor at Niagara. Colonel Johnson also reminded Warraghiiyiagee that Oswego "is a place agreed on by all the Six Nations to be in ye Hands of the English, as a general Mart for all their Necessities, as well as for sunnry wants of all the Indians to ye Southward." They replied by the same speaker that they would go to Niagara and forbid the French to sell any more rum or spirituous liquors. The Indians also said that they had not given Niagara to the French, but that the French had settled there without the consent of the Six Nations.

Rum was the magnet which drew the Indians to Oswego to trade with the English and it was the magic which made profitable exchanges for the white men. If the Indians could not get rum in Oswego, they would not bring their furs there, but instead trade with the French at Niagara.

The controversy over selling the Indians rum was an old one with the French and English, each

hypocritically blaming the other for the evil. As far back as 1668, M. Denonville, leader of a French expedition in northern New York wrote to Gov. Dongan of New York:

"Think you, Sir, that Religion will progress whilst your Merchants supply, as they do, Eau de Vie [Rum] in abundance which converts the savages, as you ought to know, into Demons and their cabins into counterparts and theaters of Hell."

To which the Governor of New York replied:

"The Missionary Fathers, if they please but do me justice can give you an account how careful I have bin to preserve them, I have ordered our Indians strictly not to exercise any cruelty or insolence against them and have written to the King my master who hath as much zeal as any prince living, to propagate the Christian faith and assure him how necessary it is to send hither some Fathers to preach the Gospell to the natives allyed to us and care would be then taken to dissuade them from their drunken debouches though certainly our Rum does as little hurt as your Brandy and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome: however, to keep the Indians temperate and sober is a very good and Christian performance, but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and very turkish." Cunning casuistry—to find in the name of Christianity that rum is more wholesome than brandy, and prohibition—bah, that is only for the infidel!

From earliest colonial times there were repeated endeavors to moderate, limit or prohibit the drinking of spirits. To enumerate and discuss the many and varied edicts, laws and regulations would make dry reading and to no purpose, for from 1622 when Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor of Virginia, was advised by the council of the London Company to effect a "speedie redress" of the enormous excess of drinking, the "cry whereof cannot but have gone to Heaven, since the infamy hath spread itself to all that have heard the name Virginia" until the present prohibition laws, the results have been similar and can be summed up in Fisher Ames' statement made in Congress during President Madison's administration: "If any man supposes that a mere law can turn the taste of a people from ardent spirits to malt liquors, he has a romantic notion of legislative power."

The repeated attempts to suppress the drinking of rum and other spirits, in itself points to the prevalence of heavy drinking. Then, as now, "the best people" either ignored the laws, when in effect, or set an example as devotees to strong tipple when there were no active prohibition laws on the books.

Just as it was fashionable only a short while back to bring in the name of George Washington as the exemplar of all that was virtuous and laudable, it is now vogue to make use of that illustrious name in connection with frailty and imperfection.

So be it! We will not only point out Washington's fondness for rum (in hogshead quantities) but show that in a small and strictly private way, he ventured into the rum and slave trade!

In 1766, Washington had as a servant an unruly Negro, of whom he thought well to rid himself. And no better way presented itself than to make an advantageous swap in the Islands; so he sent the Negro to the Captain of a sloop bound for the West Indies, with the following note:

"With this letter comes a negro (Tom) which I beg the favor of you to sell in any of the islands you may go to, for whatever he will fetch, and bring me in return for him,

One hhd. of best molasses
One ditto of best rum
One barrel of lymes, if good & cheap
One pot tamarinds containing about 10 lbs.
Two small ditto of mixed sweetmeats about 5 lbs. each.
And the residue much or little in good old spirits."

We have searched in vain in all of the Chicago school histories to find reference to the agreement which Washington made when he hired a gardener in which he specified that as part of the compensation the man should have "four dollars at Christmas with which he may be drunk for four days and nights; two dollars at Easter to effect the same purpose; two dollars at Whitsuntide to

be drunk for two days; a dram in the morning, and a drink of grog at dinner at noon."

There is poetic justice in the present prohibition dilemma. Nursed in our infancy on rum, we do not thrive on official weaning. Well do we maintain our traditions of making laws to satisfy our consciences and breaking them to satisfy purse, appetite, or the dictates of expedience.

CHAPTER II

THE MOVING POWER OF RUM

"Out of the cheap molasses of the French Islands she [New England] made the rum which was a chief source of her wealth."

—Woodrow Wilson.

CHAPTER II

THE MOVING POWER OF RUM

TO understand the significance of rum to the American colonies, particularly to New England, its economic status must be made clear. Putting aside for the moment the social and moral influences of rum, we must visualize it as the life blood of colonial commerce. The colonists were dependent upon England for their manufactured goods, partly because of their inability to supply their own wants, and partly because England severely restricted manufacturing in America; this, of course, as a protective measure to her own industries. In return for manufactured goods which she imported, New England exported to England lumber and fish, and also built ships for the mother country. The middle colonies exported tobacco, cotton and other agricultural staples. The value of the exports did in no wise equal the imports, and, of consequence, the balance of trade was always in favor of England. The colonists, therefore, needed money in order to settle with Britain. In place of money, they had a large surplus of exportable merchandise for which they found a

market in the West Indies, partly in the British islands, but principally in the French and Dutch islands. These foreign islands needed the colonial products and had not only an abundance of money with which to pay for them, but exported to New England rum, and the molasses which the Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut distillers made into the rum which they not only consumed themselves, but also re-exported to Africa and in return brought back great numbers of slaves. There was always a demand for slaves, both in the West Indies, where they were necessary to produce sugar, molasses and rums, and also in the southern American colonies, where they cultivated tobacco and cotton for the planters.

As early as 1662, the Royal African Company in London expressed in their "Declaration" the fear that owing to the invasion by other nations of the African trade, America "be rendered useless in their growing Plantations through want of that usual supply of Servants, which they have hitherto had from Africa." It was incumbent upon the Colonial Governors to encourage and forward the affairs of this slave-trading corporation, the head of which was the Duke of York, brother of King Charles II. By 1695, the traffic in Negroes had become the most important and profitable branch of British commerce. Weeden says, "It was a melancholy omen of the immense significance of the slave-trade in that commerce

that the gold coin, used even more than the sovereign as a unit of common prices, was named for Guinea whence gold and negroes were taken together."

New England flourished on the fruits of the slave trade, but slavery itself was a small factor. There was neither the need for many slaves, nor the climate to support them. The few slaves were managed with remarkable humanity. They were not absolutely constrained nor permanently confined. The Boston Evening Post in 1735 tells of a Rhode Island Negro man and woman who by industry and frugality scraped together £200 or £300 and sailed back to their own country, Guinea where their savings gave them an independent fortune.

Although the rum and slave trade of New England is recognized by modern historians as having had great influence on the whole commerce of the first half of the eighteenth century, the records of the industry are but fragmentary. Many New England writers hurriedly passed over this unsavory commercial epoch, with a shrug. Probably no writer has collected more data on this phase of New England history than William B. Weeden, who used the material in his Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789. He says: "Massachusetts writers have always been especially sore at the point where the trade in African Negroes is touched. If they had admitted that in

fact none knew at the time the enormity of the offense, and that Massachusetts partook of the common public sentiment which trafficked in Indians or Negroes as carelessly as in cattle, their argument would be more consistent. Massachusetts attained enough in her history that is actual and real; it is not necessary to prove that she was endued with superhuman forecast, or a pragmatical morality."

The African trade was carried on in Massachusetts to a considerable extent, although in nowise comparable in volume to the same trade in Rhode Island. It commenced at an early period, and declined very little till the Revolution. Samuel Dexter wrote, "Vessels from Rhode Island have brought slaves into Boston. Whether any have been imported into that town by its own merchants, I am unable to say. I have more than fifty years ago seen a vessel or two with slaves brought into Boston, but do not recollect where they were owned. At that time, it was a rare thing to hear the trade reprobated. About the time of the Stamp Act, what before were only slight scruples in the minds of conscientious persons became serious doubts and, with a considerable number, ripened into a firm persuasion that the slave trade was malum in se." There were, however, other contemporary writers who confessed to more definite knowledge of Massachusetts' participation in the slave trade. Thomas Pemberton asserted: "We

know that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of Massachusetts Colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes out and home. Some of the slaves were purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them, were sold in the West Indies. Some were brought to Boston and Charlestown, and sold to town and country purchaser by the head, as we sell sheep and oxen."

There was perhaps no contemporary commentator who was more honest and frank in his writings on Massachusetts history and habits than John Adams; we can always look to him for caustic and cleansing comment on current affairs. He wrote of the decline of slavery in Massachusetts: "Argument might have some weight in the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, but the real cause was the multiplication of labouring white people who would no longer suffer the risk to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury. This principle has kept Negro slavery out of France, England and other parts of Europe." A frank, bold and authoritative statement, disconcerting to Massachusetts apologists and holier-than-thou's.

In 1733, Parliament passed a bill, popularly known as the Molasses Act, practically prohibiting the importation of molasses and rum from the foreign islands. The purpose of the Act was to confine the trade in these commodities to the British sugar islands, for they too had considerable

trade with Africa, and there came into direct competition with the New Englanders for the purchase of slaves. Because the New Englanders were able to buy cheaper molasses from the Dutch and French West Indies, they not only bought less molasses from the English islands, but were able to make cheaper rum and outbid their competitors for African Negroes. And going a little deeper into the matter, we find the principal reason that molasses and rum were cheaper in the French islands was because France would not permit the importation of either rum or molasses, in order that the French brandy distillers might be protected. This naturally caused a large surplus of these two products in the French islands.

Rum was the most suitable commodity for barter in the African slave trade, and it was for this reason that the southern colonies became dependent on the trade between the northern colonies and the West Indies.

Capt. George Scott attempted to trade on the African coast with a cargo of dry goods. He wrote to his Newport owners in 1740. "We left Anamboe ye 8th of May, with most of our people and slaves sick. We have lost 29 slaves. Our purchase was 129. We have five that swell'd and how it will be with them I can't tell. We have one-third of dry cargo left and two hhds. rum. . . I have repented a hundred times buying of them dry goods. Had we laid out two thousand pound

in rum, bread and flour, it would have purchased more in value than all our dry goods."

Another reason for the economic importance of rum to the British Islands was its effect on the cost of producing sugar. George Washington comments on this in his diary in 1751, at which time he was on a visit to Barbados. Here are his remarks on the subject in his own original spelling and grammar: "Canes is from 40 to 70 ton of sugar each ton valued at 20/ out of which a third is deducted for expences unless Rum sells for 2/ and upwards pr. Gallon than it is though the sugar is near clean." Lest the words of our country's Pater be not clear to the reader, I quote from Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (1776): "It is commonly said that a sugar planter expects that rum and the molasses should defray the whole expense of his cultivation, and that his sugar should be all clear profit."

It was an economic necessity which compelled the continental colonies to export to the foreign West Indies. This arose principally from the nature of the commodities produced. The following statistics, taken by McClellan from Pitkin's Statistical View 1817, showed the demand for New England products was far greater in the West Indies than in England: "In 1770, New England sent to the islands, staves and heads and hoops for barrels and hogsheads, to the value of about £70,000 or about three times as much as was sent to England.

Bread and flour, principally from Pennsylvania, to the amount of 23,449 tons, were exported to the islands, in comparison with 263 tons sent to England. In the shipping of fish, we find that of the better dried fish, 431,386 quintals went to the south of Europe, 206,081 quintals to the West Indies, and only 22,086 to Great Britain. Of the products of the fisheries, however, there remained a great quantity of low-grade pickled fish which could find an adequate market only in the West Indies, which consumed 29,582 barrels of a total of 30,068."

John Adams observed in 1778: "One part (the low grade) of our fish went to the West Indies for rum, and molasses to be distilled into rum, which injured our health and our morals. The other part (the high grade) went to Spain and Portugal for gold and silver, almost the whole of which went to London." Apparently Adams did not think well of the colonists' end of the trade. It can readily be seen that the success of the New England fisheries was dependent upon the rum and molasses trade with the West Indies, as in fact was the whole economic structure of New England, and it is easy to understand why the colonists did not take kindly to the Molasses Act.

¶

General Bernard of Massachusetts wrote in 1764: "If conniving at foreign sugars and molas-

ses. . . .is to be reckoned corruption, there never was, I believe, an incorrupt Customs officer in America until within twelve months." From the same source, we also have the following statement, to wit, that 15,000 hogsheads of molasses were imported into Massachusetts in 1763, "all of which, except less than 500, came from ports which are now foreign"; in other words, 14,500 were smuggled in.

In Rhode Island, there existed a similar situation in regard to the importation of molasses; about 150 Rhode Island vessels went to the West Indies annually, bringing to the colony 14,000 hogsheads of molasses. Not over 22,500 barrels originated in the British Islands.

As can be deduced from the above, little attempt was made to enforce the Molasses Act, and that little was perfunctory, subject to further laxity upon the careful distribution of the necessary emolument. Authorities are agreed that the Molasses Act, had it been enforced, would have wrecked the commerce of the northern colonies and ruined merchants. Viewed from all angles, it was a most unwise measure.

James Otis asserted that if the King of Great Britain in person were encamped on Boston Common, at the head of 20,000 men, with all his navy on our coast, he would not be able to execute these laws.

The following letter from Gilbert Deblois, a

Boston Customs official, to Samuel Curwin, a prominent Salem merchant, referring to other dutiable merchandise, typifies the then current state of official morals; and again we have a parallel, in the attitude of many Customs officials today toward enforcing the 18th Amendment to the Constitution.

"Saml. Curwin Esqr.

Sr. I shall Esteem it afav. you'l take an Oppy to Inform all your Merchts: &c. others, concern'd in Shiping up Wine, Oyl, Olives, Figs, Raisins &c. that I am determind Publickly to Inform the Collector of this Port, of any those Articles I can find out, are on board any Vessell commanded by, or under Care of Capt. Ober, in order they may be Siez'd, I shall not concern my self abt any other Coaster, let 'em bring up what they will, but this Capt Ober has Cheated me in such a manner (tho to no great Value) that I'm determined to keep a good look out on him, therefore would have all those Concern'd in that Trade, Regulate themselves accordingly, & if they will Risque any such Prohibetted Goods in Sd Obers Vessell, they must not (after such notice of my Design) think hard of me, as what I may do will be to punish Sd Ober & not them—I have just told Sd Ober that I wd send this notifacation to Salem & wd

Certainly get his Vessell & Cargo Siezd Sooner or Later.

I am sr

Your hble Servt

Gilbt Deblois

P. S. I'm a lover of Honest Men, therefore dont be Surpriz'd at above, as I look upon Ober to be a Cheat.

Pray Distroy this when done with."

Answered Augt 13th.

There could be no stronger evidence of official corruption than this amusing and naive letter; and we wonder in what manner Captain Ober succeeded in so arousing the "righteous" indignation of the Hon. Gilbt Deblois.

An anonymous contemporary publicist in a pamphlet points out one of the reasons why the Act could not be enforced, in the following sentence: "It will not be possible in so long a coast of 7 or 800 miles, where there are so many bays, creeks and rivers, and so few officers, to prevent the running-in of sugar, rum and molasses." The reader no doubt will notice the similarity of the problems which confronted the enforcement of the Molasses Act and those with which the enforcement of the present Prohibition Law is concerned. As a modern example, let us take the case of Bill McCoy, bootlegger extraordinary and "one-time head bartender to the whole nation", who in an interview with Robert H. Davis of the

New York Sun, related some particulars of present-day rum-running, which are so reminiscent of colonial days that they serve to emphasize the fundamental problem that seems always to be with us. In 1920, McCoy undertook a contract to run ships for the "wholesalers", delivering case goods in foreign bottoms off "Rum Row." This marketplace for illicit liquor was twelve miles off the coast, and extended from Asbury Park to Fire Island. The bootleggers came out in fast motorboats, paid cash for the goods and then returned with their cargo. They had to run a gauntlet of revenue boats before they could get back, but, for reasons best left unsaid, they were not troubled unduly by the law enforcers. Perhaps, like Customs Officer Gilbert Deblois, the modern revenue official said: "Let 'em bring up what they will". The demand for smuggled liquor became so great, and the profits so alluring, that McCoy gave up a salary of one hundred dollars a day as skipper of a rum-runner to enter into that lucrative enterprise on his own account. He bought and operated eight ships which plied over a period of four years between Bimini, Nassau, Bermuda, Halifax, St. Pierre, Miquelon, and "Rum Row", U. S. A. The flagship of this fleet, named the Arethusa, was built in Gloucester, the fastest fishing schooner ever constructed at that port. She could sail two hundred miles a day and an average of about eight trips per year was made. The profits were stu-

pendous. A cargo of five thousand cases of rye taken on at Nassau cost $125,000. When sold at "Rum Row", it brought $250,000, and when landed on the beach in New Jersey or New York, it was worth $100 per case or $500,000 for the cargo. The New York trade cut it four to one with water, and retailed the cargo for a total of $2,000,000.

Smuggling rum into the Colonies to save 9d. per gallon duty did not run into such fabulous figures, but it represented proportionately a large sum and the impetus to law-breaking was probably equally great.

As we proceed, it will be shown that the laws of 1733 and 1763, imposing a heavy duty on foreign rum, and later the anti-slave trading laws of 1808 and 1820, which declared slave trading to be piracy, punishable by hanging, were quite ineffectively enforced. Just so long as there was a demand for foreign rum and for slaves, the trade continued despite all laws, and it was not until the demand for slaves was entirely cut off by the Civil War that slave smuggling ceased.

¶

It is not merely in the prevention of smuggling on our long coast line that similarity of problems exists. Then, as now, the conscientious, law-abiding citizen was confronted with the necessity

of constant compromise with his conscience because of the infiltration of this illegal commerce into the legitimate complexities of commercial and social life.

John Woolman is an example of a citizen who was harassed by the economic dependence of the colonies on the rum, sugar, molasses and slave trade. He was not so much concerned with the illegal aspect of it, as with its inhumanity. A Quaker and a reformer, he was greatly disturbed from time to time with his own involuntary participation in this business. Unlike many reformers, however, he looked at the facts squarely and courageously, and unsuccessfully tried to extricate himself from even indirect participation in the fruits of the commerce. He wrote in his Journal on November 25, 1769: "Some years ago, I retailed rum, sugar and molasses, the fruits of the labor of slaves, but had not then much concern about them, save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been. Having of late years been further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the dangers there are in connections of interest and fellowship with the Works of Darkness, I have an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, and it hath seemed right that my small gain from this branch of trade should be ap-

plied in promoting righteousness on earth. This was the first motion towards a visit to Barbados. I believed also that part of my outward substance should be applied in paying my passage, if I went, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence." But Woolman's conscience did not rest at ease, after having urged him to make a visit to Barbados, where he intended to preach against slavery. He found himself in another quandary. This new trouble caused him to spend much time in prayer, asking for guidance. He continued to question himself, writing that "much hath so closely engaged my mind in seeking to the Lord for instruction, is, whether, after the full information I have had of the oppression which the slaves lie under, who raise the West India produce, which I have gained by reading 'A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies', written by Antony Benezet, it is right for me to take passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade." Woolman was a cautious reformer. He realized the difficulties to be encountered in interfering with an evil which had been so thoroughly assimilated in the complicated life of the colonies. He continued: "I do not censure my brethren in these things, but I believe the Father of Mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the cries of these oppressed people and that he is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition. Trading in or the fre-

quent use of any produce known to be raised by the labor of those who are under such lamentable oppression hath appeared to be a subject which may hereafter require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of Peace. . . . The number of those who decline the use of West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even among people truly pious; and the labors in Christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive. Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread." Woolman further considers his problem of going to the West Indies without using a vessel that plied in the iniquitous trade. For years he had refused to use sugar, that being a product of the rum, molasses and slave trade, and now he was confronted with a problem not as simple as his personal boycott on sugar. He even thought of trying to hire a vessel to go to Barbados under ballast, and having some sense of humor decided against this expensive and extreme measure, with the remark, "The labors in gospel love hereto bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness have not reached that height." He then devised a rather ingenious scheme to ease his conscience. The passage on a trading vessel to Barbados was inexpensive, due to the great profits in carrying cargoes. Woolman therefore felt that

by paying a much larger sum than was customary for the passage to Barbados, he would not be taking advantage of the trade to which he was so unalterably opposed. This plan, however, did not fully satisfy him and he suffered great mental anguish. Still undecided as to whether he would sail or not, he wrote: "Having been seen two days in town, I believed my obedience to my Heavenly Father consisted in returning home; I therefore went over among friends on the Jersey shore and tarried until the morning on which the vessel was appointed to sail. As I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was afflicted and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation that it was the Lord's will that I should pass through some further exercises near home." And so John Woolman never went to Barbados to carry on his good work.

¶

The illicit trade in rum and molasses prospered, but the general disregard of the law had its dire effect on an earnestly law-abiding people. Possibly the vicissitudes through which the Molasses Act passed will serve as a guide in our present rum dilemma. The law was unsound, unpopular and incapable of enforcement. It should have been repealed, but not ignored. Constant disregard of the Act weakened respect for laws in general and created a situation during the Seven Years' War

between France and England, unique in the history of our country. The American colonies and the French islands had become so inter-dependent, that after the outbreak of the war between the mother countries, commercial intercourse between them continued, notwithstanding emergency measures passed by both countries prohibiting such trade. In 1757, Parliament forbade, for the period of the war, the export of any food supplies excepting fish and rice, to any place outside of the British domains. The French colonies were dependent on the Americans for their chief food supplies. The Americans in turn required cheap rum and molasses for domestic purposes and export to Africa. Their morale undermined by years of law defiance and smuggling, they put profit before patriotism and continued to supply their enemies with food. McClellan says: "Although the continuance of the trade by the Americans may have indicated a break in the sympathy of the colonies with England, it is fair to conjecture that a desire for business profits, and the economic necessity for the continuance of the trade were the motives at bottom." The trade with the enemy was carried on in two ways: directly with the French under Flags of Truce, or indirectly through neutral islands of other nations. The Flags of Truce were issued originally by the colonial Governors to allow vessels to exchange prisoners with the French. This system, which had begun in earlier

wars of the century, was subject to much abuse. With the prisoners was carried merchandise which was also exchanged, and when the exchange of prisoners was effected, the permits were not surrendered but were used for later exportations. How redolent of Eighteenth Amendment illegal traffic!

Pennsylvania was the worst offender. Governor Denny publicly sold these permits to the highest bidders, and there was so large a number of ships engaged in this trade that James Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor, on information of Sir Geoffrey Amherst that provisions were being collected in Philadelphia and sent to the French fleet and army in the West Indies, directed the Collector of Customs at Philadelphia to hold there all ships except those released by special warrant. Rhode Island was second only to Pennsylvania in making possible the violation of the privileges of the "Flags of Truce". In Virginia, the Lieutenant-Governor was offered Four Hundred Guineas if he would license a Flag of Truce, but he refused the offer.

The state of affairs described above was noted in England. On August 23, 1760, Pitt instructed the colonial Governors: "Make the strictest enquiry into the state of dangerous and ignominous trade." And thus we find continued pursuance of the illegal rum trade, acting as a moral anesthetic, and the staunch colonists tolerating treason.

From time to time, special efforts were made to enforce the Molasses Act, and rum and molasses runners would be seized by the Customs officials. Inlets and bays on the Atlantic coast were then, as now, the scenes of many a battle between rum-runners and Customs officials, but after the seizure, the familiar problem of getting a jury to convict was encountered. We find the Collector at New York arguing, back in 1739, that a case arising from the seizure of gunpowder and molasses illegally imported should be tried before an Admiralty Court instead of before the Common Law Court, because of the unlikelihood of obtaining a favorable verdict from "a jury who perhaps are equally concerned in carrying on an illicit trade, and it is hardly to be expected that they will find each other guilty." And it was not strange that a jury could not be found in New York or elsewhere who would convict, for practically all the principal merchants of the time, including the famous patriot Peter Faneuil, were engaged in the illicit West India trade.

The duties levied by the Molasses Act were 9d. per gallon of rum, 6d. per gallon of molasses and syrup, and 5sh. per cwt. on sugar. The average annual duty collected prior to 1735 on all the above commodities amounted to only £259. From 1755 to 1761, the Government assisted the Customs in enforcing the Act, and the average annual collections increased to £1189; neither figure indi-

cates an over-whelming success on the part of the authorities.

Yet James Otis, analyzing the Molasses Act, calculated that on the molasses alone, based on a most conservative estimate of 1,000,000 gallons imported annually, the annual revenue should have been in excess of £25,000. More than sufficient, at that time, to pay all the salaries of all the governors upon the continent, and all judges of the admiralty too.

In 1763, the Molasses Act was modified and the vigorous attempt made to enforce it was a leading contributing cause of the Revolution, but this will be discussed in another chapter.

¶

In considering the economics of the New England rum trade, we must not neglect the factors which impelled the Africans to sell their slaves. On the Dark Continent, there was also a social and economic problem. Africans had always been bondsmen; the oldest monuments bear their images linked with menial toils and absolute servitude. Canot asserted that three-fourths of the slaves sent abroad from Africa were the fruits of native wars, fomented by the avarice and temptation of white Christians. He included all commercial nations in his sweeping censure. The Christians stimu-

lated the Negro's passions by the introduction of wants and fancies never dreamed of by the simple native, until which time slavery in Africa had been an institution of domestic need and comfort alone. Those things which were first regarded as luxuries soon ripened into absolute necessities; and slaves then became the coin and legal tender of this new trade.

Even after the slave trade was outlawed in Great Britain in 1807, England sent under the Cross of St. George to the factories on the African Coast, Birmingham muskets, Manchester cottons, and Liverpool lead, all of which were legally and "righteously swapped" at Sierra Leone, Acra, and on the Gold Coast, for Spanish or Brazilian bills on London. "Yet," says Canot, "what British merchant does not know the traffic on which those bills are founded, and for whose support his wares are purchased?" France sent her Rouen cottons, Marseilles brandies, flimsy taffetas and an indescribable variety of tinsel gewgaws. Philosophic Germany demanded a slice for her looking-glasses and beads. And, writing of Americans, even after the trade had been outlawed, Brantz Mayer says, "Multitudes of our own worthy traders, who would hang a slaver as a pirate *when caught* do not hesitate to supply him indirectly with tobacco, powder, cotton, Yankee rum, and New England notions, in order to bait the trap in which he *may* be caught". (How that stimulates the thought of obvious current an-

alogies:) It was the temptation of those things that fed the slave-making wars of Africa and formed "the human basis of those admirable bills of exchange."

Those were the predominating influences that supported the African slave trade, both before and after its prohibition. If commerce of all kinds had been prevented with that continent, the customs and laws of the natives would have still encouraged slavery as a domestic affair, but in a much modified degree. The rancorous family quarrels among tribes and parts of tribes always promoted conflicts that resembled the forays of our feudal ancestors, and the captives made therein invariably became serfs.

Besides this, the financial genius of Africa, instead of devising bank notes or the precious metals as a circulating medium, had from time immemorial declared that a human creature, *"the true representative and embodiment of labor"* is the most valuable article on earth. A man, therefore, became the standard of price. A slave was a note of hand, that could be discounted or pawned; he was a bill of exchange that carried himself to his destination and paid a debt bodily; he was a tax that walked corporally into the chieftain's treasury. "And so they sent the felon and the captive to foreign *barracoons* [a place where slaves were corraled and kept until exported] and sentenced to domestic servitude the orphans of culprits, dis-

orderly children, gamblers, witches, vagrants, cripples, insolvents, the deaf, the mute, the barren, and the faithless. Five-sixths of the population was in chains."

To facilitate the sale of these various unfortunates or malefactors, there existed among the Africans many brokers, "who were as skillful in their traffic as the jockeys of civilized lands." These adroit scoundrels roved the country in search of objects to suit different patrons. They supplied the bodyguard of princes; procured special tribes for personal attendants; furnished laborers for farms; filled the harems of debauchés, paid or collected debts in flesh; and in cases of emergency took the place of bailiffs, to kidnap under the name of sequestration. If a native king lacked cloth, arms, powder, balls, tobacco, rum or salt, and did not trade personally with the factories on the beach, he employed one of these "dexterous gentry" to effect the barter; and thus both British cotton and Yankee rum ascended the rivers from the second hands into which they had passed, while the slave approached the coast to become the ebony basis of a bill of exchange! Upon giving thought to the similarity between the motivating forces of the rum trade in New England and the slave trade in Africa, I have arrived at the same conclusions that Brantz Mayer formulates in a single salient sentence:

"It has sometimes struck me as odd, how the ex-

tremes of society almost meet on similar principles; and how much some African shortcomings resemble the conceded civilizations of other lands."

CHAPTER III

RUM, THE SPIRIT OF '76

"As to Rum . . . it is of such importance that the army should be fill'd up & regularly supplied, that you may depend no Exertions of the Executive here shall be wanting to effect those purposes."

—John Hancock.

CHAPTER III

RUM, THE SPIRIT OF '76

THE Molasses Act had remained practically unenforced for thirty years, during which time there was a strong community of interests between the colonists and the Mother Country in the menace of the French settlements in America. The French and Indian War served to cement the otherwise strained relationship between England and her North American colonies. There could not be much desire for independence on the part of the colonists while there was a danger of French domination. But in 1763 the restraint on the desire for independence caused by the presence of France in America was removed, and Grenville took this inopportune time to enforce the Molasses Act. England's need of revenue was the reason for the effort, and now there was added to the general opposition to interference in the important rum and molasses trade, that obnoxious principle, taxation, which was later to take the form of a propaganda slogan, "No taxation without representation."

The new Molasses Act or Sugar Act, as it was known, reduced the duties on molasses, rum and

sugar, with the hope that they would appear less formidable to the colonists, and, therefore, easier to collect. But this was not the case. As soon as a decision had been reached to enforce the Trade Acts, Grenville and his cabinet became active, and the necessary enforcement measures were passed. Previously, the civil officers alone were empowered to enforce the laws, but now it was enacted that officers of the Navy should be on the same footing as custom-house officers. Special ships were fitted out to prevent illegal trade. Smuggling in past years had indicated weakness, laxity and corruption on the part of the Customs authorities, and now temptation was to be removed by denying them all discretionary powers and increasing their salaries, making them less likely to succumb to the bribes of New England merchants. All coasting vessels that could make the West Indies voyage "had to get 'sufferance' and take detailed 'cockets' at each lading." This had not been necessary prior to 1763, and therefore those vessels most suitable for smuggling had been free from embarrassing supervision. Those who were high in the Customs service and who formerly remained in England were ordered to the colonies with strict instructions to do their duty to prevent any and all illegal trade, and to obtain as much revenue as possible. Jurisdiction in all cases arising from the Acts of Trade were given to Admiralty Courts. They sat without juries. The governors of all the

provinces were required to report on the state of trade in their dominions. McClellan says that these reports asserted that violations of the Acts of Trade in general were infrequent and of small relative importance. The evasions of the Molasses Act were always excepted and in some of the reports were entirely omitted, the facts being too well known for restatement. To connect more closely the administration officials with England, the Earl of Northumberland was appointed, in 1764, Vice-Admiral for all America, and William Spry, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court for all America. In 1768, five Customs Commissioners for America were appointed. These were the essential changes made to uphold and bolster the Trade Laws.

The infamous "Writs of Assistance" which were first used about 1756 were "the most potent instruments to serve the rejuvenated collecting arm of the British Treasury." Their use and abuse were confined for the most part to cases against evaders of the molasses, rum and sugar duties. The writs were issued by the Superior Court and directed any officer or subject of the King to search for contraband goods in any vessel, storehouse or private building, and to use force when necessary.

President John Adams wrote, "I do say in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis's oration against writs of assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life." It was the rum and mo-

lasses trade that caused the extensive use of these writs.

Weeden also testifies to the importance of rum as a cause of the Revolution. "Distilling molasses and sugar into rum was perhaps the most important of the New England industries in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. It was not only the main element in the slave trade, but was powerfully supported by the local demand and by the consumption in the Newfoundland fisheries. . . . In 1733, by the sugar or Molasses act, the House of Commons laid a heavy duty on products imported from foreign islands into the northern colonies. This began the troubles ending in the American Revolution."

Again we quote John Adams, this time an extract from his diary, in which he ranks the Sugar Act as next in importance to the Stamp Act. The entry was made on Monday, December 30, 1765: "We are concluding the year 1765. Tomorrow is the last day of a year in which America has shown such magnanimity and spirit, as never before appeared in any country for such a tract of country. And Wednesday will open upon us a new year 1766, which I hope will procure us innumerable testimonies from Europe in our favor and applause, and which we all hope will produce the greatest and most extensive joy ever felt in America, on the repeal both of the Stamp Act and Sugar Act, at least the former."

It is no mean compliment to our rum-running proclivities to say that the combined efforts of the Royal Navy and the reorganized Customs service were not of sufficient strength to break up the contraband trade. War vessels and sloops especially fitted up to war on illegal trade were but small obstacles to the intrepid New England merchants. Clarence Darrow has a precedent when he says it is the duty of good Americans to violate the Eighteenth Amendment, for the colonists considered it a "sacred duty" to break the trade laws!

Of course, seizures were made from time to time, but as in the case of all unpopular laws, enforcement was difficult. Any attempt to "squeal" on the smugglers was likely to cause a riot, and there is a record of one informer in Newbury who was tarred and feathered for his zeal.

In Newport there was an importer who had entered his cargo as consisting of 50 hhds. of molasses. The Customs discovered over 80 hhds. and promptly seized the entire cargo. During the night, patriotic citizens rallied in support of the smuggler and in a mob, disguised to avoid recognition, took away all of the consignment except the 50 hhds. which had been regularly entered.

It was customary to bring vessels in under cover of darkness to facilitate smuggling. Under such circumstances was a cargo brought into Gloucester, but unfortunately only half of the cargo had been secured before morning. The Customs officer

from Salem happened upon the scene in the morning, and the other half was seized. Weeden accounts for the rest of the tale: "The town at that time maintained a watch-house, during a temporary alarm concerning smallpox, where strangers were stopped and fumigated. McKean, a stout Irishman, kept watch and ward. Duly inspired by Colonel Foster, the owner of the offending vessel, he seized the Inspector of Customs, kept him through the day, and dismissed him after nightfall, freed from all infection. The moral infection of the irregular cargo remained unchanged, however."

¶

On June 10, 1772, took place the first serious encounter between smugglers and the Crown. Stationed in Narragansett Bay was the armed schooner *Gaspee,* representing the power of King George to prevent smuggling. In command of the vessel was Lieutenant Thomas Dudington, described by Munro as "a man who was entirely lacking in tact, and who carried himself with such haughty arrogance as to make himself most obnoxious." It may have been that he was incorruptible and unusually diligent in the pursuit of his duty and of rum-runners. One day, while chasing a sloop, he ran aground on Namquit (now Gaspee) Point. Naturally the sloop escaped, and upon her arrival at Providence brought news of

the *Gaspee's* plight. Drummers were sent through the streets to advise the populace of the vessel's situation and to call for volunteers to destroy her before high tide. John Brown, famous Providence merchant, provided eight long-boats, which were quickly manned by volunteers. Silently, with muffled oars, they made their way toward Namquit Point. Not far from where the *Gaspee* lay aground, they were joined by a whaleboat manned by a crew from Bristol under the command of Captain Simeon Potter.

The fleet of small boats was discovered by the watch on the *Gaspee,* who, sensing their intentions, gave the alarm and, as the boats made their attack, fired on them from the schooner. The fire was immediately returned by the attacking party and after a struggle the *Gaspee* was boarded and captured. In the mêlée, Lieutenant Dudington was wounded, although not seriously. The crew was captured, secured with strong cords, and sent ashore, while the vessel was fired and completely destroyed.

Those who took part in the exploit were at no pains to keep their identity secret, and one Abraham Whipple in particular openly flaunted his participation. Although the British Government offered a large reward for information that would lead to the conviction of the raiders, there was no one to be found in either Providence or Bristol that would testify. The Chief Justice of Rhode

Island had the courage to deny flatly the right of the English authorities to order the perpetrators to England for trial. A royal commission was appointed to examine the whole affair, and this indeed stirred and irritated all the colonies. Here again we observe the vitalizing effect that rum smuggling had on the spirit of revolution, for the *Gaspee* affair was directly occasioned by the violations of the Act of 1763. When the news of the *Gaspee* and the appointment of a royal commission of investigation reached the far-away Virginian House of Burgesses, Dabney Carr, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Jefferson, young radical members of the House, who had privately associated themselves for the concert of measures to be taken in the common cause of the colonies, sponsored a resolution to appoint at once a permanent committee of correspondence, and instruct it to inquire into the facts about this royal commission; and ask other colonies to set up similar committees, for the exchange of information concerning public affairs and the maintenance of a common understanding and concert in action. In due course, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and South Carolina had adopted the suggestion and set their committees to work,—an important step toward consolidation and revolution.

It was only fitting that during the Revolutionary War, which received some impetus from the

Gaspee incident, the following exchange of notes between Abraham Whipple and Captain James Wallace, the commander of the British naval forces in Narragansett Bay, should have taken place. Wrote Wallace to Whipple:

"You, Abraham Whipple, on the 10th June 1772, burned his Majesty's vessel, the *Gaspee,* and I will hang you at the yard arm.—James Wallace."

Wrote Whipple to Wallace:

"To Sir James Wallace; Sir; Always catch a man before you hang him.—Abraham Whipple."

¶

As events progressed—protests against the Stamp Act, 1765; the Townshend Acts, 1767; the Non-Importation Agreement, 1765 and 1767-1770 —that were to terminate finally in 1776 in the Declaration of Independence, they took on more of a political and high-principled aspect than did the strenuous protests against the Molasses Act, which were solely for commercial and economic reasons.

It is difficult, however, to judge whether or not this was a conscious or even unconscious effort on the part of such patriots as Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, Patrick Henry, and others, to raise all the grievances of the colonists, commercial, economic and political,

to the high level of abstract principle, and then reduce them to a concrete formula that would be the battle-cry of the populace. Rupert Hughes suggests that the resounding cries of "liberty or death" were mere rhetoric, and the real passion was for "liberty from debt." Political and patriotic pronunciamentos *have* been known to divert attention from the truth.

The effect of the Molasses Act can best be described in the words of Judge Minot, who said, "But the strongest apprehensions arose from the publication of the orders for strict execution of the Molasses Act, which is said to have caused greater alarm in the country than the taking of Fort William Henry in 1754." John Adams, commenting on the above statement, says that he knows it to be true as he was an eye-witness to both events. He writes, "Wits may laugh at our fondness for Molasses, and we ought all to join in the laugh with as much good humor as General Lincoln did. General Washington, however, always asserted and proved that Virginians loved molasses as well as New Englanders did. I know not why we should blush to confess that molasses was an essential ingredient in American independence. Many great events have proceeded from much smaller causes."

While it is true that considerable molasses was used in cooking, the "laugh," which was probably a smile and a wink, was occasioned by the knowl-

edge that most of the molasses was distilled into rum. Perhaps there was a feeling that drinking had become too important in the life of the colonies. And that is what Adams thought, for upon reading a speech by Senator King, formerly of Massachusetts, and then (about 1818) of New York, in which he stated that the United States imported six million gallons of West India rum, Adams added parenthetically, "The Lord have mercy on us!" The Senator continued: "The United States also imported nearly seven million gallons of molasses, which yielded seven million gallons of rum, a total of twelve million gallons of rum, which was nearly all consumed by the citizens of the United States, and in addition to this large amount of rum, there was also a liberal use of whisky." And Adams interpolated with, "Again, I devoutly pray, the Lord have mercy on us!"

John Walton, a member of the Continental Congress, wrote on February 14, 1776, to James Ross: "I have just recd. a Barrel Rum from your Store charged at 6/ per gallon—the price is very high but I cannot live well without Rum. Should you have an opportunity of getting some more, should be glad you would lay it by for me, or anything else fit to drink."

The significance of rum as a major cause of the Revolution lay in its complex effect on the economic, social and political life of the colonists.

That it was the foundation of the economic structure of New England has already been considered in some detail. The old Molasses Act of 1733 and the new Molasses Act of 1763 served to crystallize the economic importance of the rum trade in the minds of the people. Woodrow Wilson summarized this phase of the colonial rum problem when he wrote of the Molasses Act, "To enforce the Act would have been to hazard the utter commercial ruin of New England. Out of cheap molasses of the French Islands, she made the rum which was the chief source of her wealth—the rum with which she bought slaves for Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, and paid her balances to the English merchants."

The social and political aspect of rum and the Rebellion was to be found in the licensed houses and taverns, for it was in those places of conviviality, carousing and caressing, that our republic was conceived. Whatever glory and sanctity we may claim for the great American commonwealth, we must eschew the doctrine of immaculate conception.

John Adams, who loathed the taverns, attests, with many misgivings, to their potency in shaping opinion during the years immediately preceding the Revolution. Shortly before the meeting of Congress in 1774, Adams was making a journey to some of the circuit courts in Massachusetts. He stopped one night at a tavern in

Shrewsbury, about forty miles from Boston. He was cold and wet, and sat down before a cheerful fire in the barroom to dry his great coat and saddle bags, until a fire could be made in his chamber. There presently came in, one after another, about ten substantial yeomen of the neighborhood, who, sitting down to the fire after lighting their pipes, began a lively conversation upon politics. Adams was unknown to them and sat in total silence listening to their conversation. One said, "The people of Boston are distracted." Another commented, "No wonder the people of Boston are distracted. Oppression will make wise men mad." A third said, "What would you say if a fellow should come into your house and tell you he was come to take a list of your cattle, that Parliament might tax you for them at so much a head? And how would you feel if he were to go and break open your barn, to take down your oxen, cows, horses and sheep? What should you say?" Replied the first, "I would knock him in the head!" "Well," said a fourth, "if Parliament can take away Mr. Hancock's wharf and Mr. Rowe's wharf, they can take away your barn and my house." After much more spirited reasoning, a fifth, who had yet been silent, broke out, "Well it is high time for us to rebel; we must rebel some time or other, and we had better rebel now than at any time to come. If we put it off for ten or twenty years, and let them go on as they have begun, they will get a strong

party among us, and plague us a great deal more than they can now. As yet, they have but a small party on their side." Brave words in 1774—and much logic! Evidently primed with flip and toddy.

Rum may have had its use to lash the lagging spirit into an outburst of patriotic oratory, but it also could be used for the more sordid and familiar political purposes. There were votes in the hiss of the loggerhead. Says Adams, "An artful man, who has neither sense nor sentiment may by gaining a little sway among the rabble of a town, multiply taverns and dram shops, and thereby secure the votes of taverners and retailers and of all; and the multiplication of taverns will make many who may be induced by flip and rum to vote for any man whatever. . . . Several country towns, within my observations, have at least a dozen taverns and retailers. Here the time, the money, the health, and the modesty of most that are young and of many old, are wasted; here diseases, vicious habits, bastards and legislators are frequently begotten. . . . The number of these houses has been lately so much augmented and the fortunes of their owners so much increased, that an artful man has little else to do but secure the favor of taverners, in order to secure the suffrage of the rabble that attend these houses, which in many towns makes a very large, perhaps the largest number of votes."

"Evidently primed with flip and toddy."

There is another aspect of the retail rum trade which had considerable political significance. All taverns were licensed by the selectmen, and it was customary to limit the number in any one district. They were supposed to be restricted to strategic points along through highways where they were licensed as inns for travelers. A man known to be tolerant toward indiscriminate licensing of taverns was usually in political favor, and upon his election would-be tavern proprietors could expect political debts to be paid in the form of tavern licenses. Boston merchants, the importers of rum and molasses, were known to have interested themselves in local elections. It was to their interest to see to the increase and propagation of houses to dispense their wares.

It was in these taverns that many stirring meetings took place. Over a quart of flip, many an act of defiance to the tyranny of George III was launched. It was in these taverns that more than one venture to the Indies was planned. Frequent indeed were the matrimonial alliances between blue-blood families that were arranged by the side of a monteith of punch.

On September 26, 1765, Dr. Joseph Stanwood called a meeting at the famous old Wolfe Tavern at Newburyport to discuss ways and means of opposing the Stamp Act. There is no doubt that it was a fiery and spirited meeting. Here is the reckoning handed to Dr. Stanwood as he and his

friends, a little unsteadily, left the tavern in the small hours of the morning:

> "Dr. Messrs. Joseph Stanwood and Others of the Town of Newburyport for Sundry expences at My House on Thursday, Septr. 26th, A. D. 1765. At the Grate Uneasiness and Tumult on Occasion of the Stamp Act.

	Old Tenor
To William Davenport	
To 3 Double Bowls punch by Capt. Robus's Order	3 , 7 , 6
To 7 Double Bowls of Punch	7 , 7 , 6
To Double Bowl of Egg Toddy	14
To Double Punch 22/6 Single bowl 11/3	1 , 13 , 6
To Double Bowl Punch 22/6 Double bowl toddy 12/	1 , 14 , 6
To Bowl Punch 11/3 Bowl Toddy 6/	17 , 3
To Double Bowl Toddy 12/ Bowl punch 11/3	1 , 3 , 3
To Mug Flip 5/ To a Thrible Bowl Punch 33/9	2 , 76 , 3

and so the bill continues with eighteen more such items to a grand total of fifty-nine pounds, seventeen shillings and three pence.

Even prior to the Revolutionary Period, George Washington found that rum and other liquors and wine, lavishly dispensed, helped round up both votes and voters. In 1758, he was a candidate for the Virginia House of Burgesses from Frederick County. At the time he was away on the Virginia frontier. This was during the French and Indian

War. Not being able to campaign actively upon his own behalf, he arranged for the free dispensing of liquor. Altho his election had been a matter of doubt, the final returns showed that he had received 301 votes, the largest number cast for any candidate. His campaign expenses can be summed up in the following liquor bill, which seems sufficient to keep 301 votes "regular":

	L	s	d
40 gallons of Rum Punch at 3/6 per galn.	7	0	0
15 gallons of Wine at 10/ per galn.	7	10	0
Dinner for your Friends	3	0	0
13½ gallons of Wine at 10/	6	15	0
3½ pts. of Brandy at 1/3		4	4½
13 gallons of Beer at 1/3		16	3
8 qts. Cyder Royal at 1/6		12	0
30 gallons of strong beer at 8d	1	0	0
1 hhd. and 1 Barrell of Punch, consisting of 26 gals. best Barbados rum at 5/	6	10	0
12 lbs. S. Refd. Sugar at 1/6		18	9
10 Bowls of Punch at 2/6 each	1	5	0
9 half pints of rum at 7½d each	0	5	7½
1 pint of wine	0	1	6

¶

It is, of course, well known that rum was an important ration in the continental army during the Revolution. Through the courtesy of Alwin J. Scheuer, who most kindly gave me access to some of his unpublished manuscript letters of the period, I am able to quote from a lengthy unpublished letter of John Hancock to Major General Lincoln, dated Boston, August 15, 1781:

"As to Rum there has been a quantity procur'd & sent to Springfield, & we have lately been affording assistance to the Qu. Mr. Genl. to enable him to transport it to Camp. It is of such importance that the army should be fill'd up & regularly supplied, that you may depend no Exertions of the Executive here shall be wanting to effect those purposes."

In 1925, during the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the battle of Lexington, some newspaper men undertook to look into historical archives to find material for special copy to cover the occasion. Newspaper men are trained to report events accurately, and if the event is 150 years old, tradition must give way to truth even at the expense of appearing irreverent. Frank W. Blair, in a letter dated April 21, 1925, gave the New York Times a true account of Paul Revere's famous ride. The Times published the letter under the facetious caption, "A SIP THAT MADE A NATION," "How a Glass of Rum Made Paul Revere a Red-Hot Fighting Man." It appears that Paul Revere was dispatched on his now famous ride not to

". . . spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country folk to be up and to arm,"

but to warn Hancock and Adams to flee and escape arrest, and also to tell the patriots of those towns

to hide their military stores. According to Paul Revere's own narrative of his adventures on that historic night, he had not ridden far when he came upon two British horsemen, one of whom closely pursued him until the redcoat rode into a clay pit. Then Revere, "hot under the collar," rode straight to the home of Isaac Hall, Captain of the Medford Minute Men, who owned a rum distillery. Up to this point in his famous ride, Revere had been a silent horseman, speeding through the night to carry a message of warning to Hancock and Adams.

Although his stay was brief, it was long enough, so the story has it, for Captain Hall to pour for him several stirrup cups of rich old Medford rum which "would have made a rabbit bite a bulldog." He who came a silent horseman departed a virile and vociferous crusader with "a cry of defiance and not of fear." And from there on Longfellow seems to have adhered to facts.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL RUM TRADERS AND RUM RUNNERS

"I remember the black wharves and the ships,
And the sea-tides tossing free;
And the Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
And the magic of the sea."

—LONGFELLOW.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL RUM TRADERS AND RUM RUNNERS

THE great traders, who were the backbone of eighteenth century New England commerce, were to be found in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. It was in Rhode Island, however, that the most active trade in rum, molasses and slaves originated. It is significant of the increasing commerce of Newport that in 1655 there was a large immigration of Jews from Lisbon, and in 1658 fifteen Jewish families came from Holland. One notes with interest that, besides capital and trading ability, they brought over the first three degrees of Masonry. A century later, the earthquake in Lisbon sent over more than sixty families of accomplished and well-to-do Jewish merchants who were attracted to Newport by its liberal government and commercial opportunity. Jewish names appear frequently in the annals of Rhode Island commerce, and whereas they remained socially and religiously distinct and apart from their Gentile fellows, they seemed to have entered into the commercial fabric of the colony as a part of its system, and to have developed the

virtues and vices of the rum trade in about the same proportions as the Christians.

The names of some of the great Massachusetts merchants are more familiar to the general reader of history than are those of Rhode Island, and not the least among them was Peter Faneuil.

Not only is the spirit of the early eighteenth century American merchant discernible in the person of Peter Faneuil, but in this proud, sumptuous, "bewigged, beruffled and bebuttoned" man of affairs was the colonial counterpart of our modern commercial Cyclops. A complete materialist, with vision circumscribed by the known limits of trade, he ordered his life in accordance with the well-defined rules laid out for the conduct of the plutocratic merchant of that century. He lived, as Weeden put it, in a "savor of holiness, charity and benignity." On Sunday, he could be seen walking to church with his good sister, velvet-bound prayerbook in hand, and his heart (if we are to believe his eulogist, the gushing Mr. Lovell) holding "many more blessings in store for us." But that was on Sunday. On week-days he pored over his ledgers, planned new commercial ventures, dunned his debtors and wrote vituperative letters to correspondents who he felt had wronged him. Held in awe and respect by his fellow merchants, he was not above them in trade morals and was aggressive in his attempts to escape paying the legal and required duties. However, neither this

"Did Peter slap his fair round belly and chuckle when he named the snow Jolly Bachelor*?"*

nor the fact that he was active in the rum and slave trade in any way detracted from his pre-eminence as a great merchant and philanthropist, viewed from the standpoint of early eighteenth century morals. His half ownership in the snow *Jolly Bachelor,* engaged in rum and slave voyaging, caused Weeden to ask, "Did Peter slap his fair round belly and chuckle when he named the snow *Jolly Bachelor?*—or was it the sad irony of fate that the craft deliberately destined to be packed with human pains and to echo with human groans should in its very name bear the fantastic image of the luxury-loving chief owner. If these be the source of profits and property, where is the liberty of Faneuil Hall, where the charity of good Peter's alms?"

In the preceding chapters it has been shown that little regard was given by merchants to the Molasses Act. There apparently was no disgrace in not only smuggling the commodities enumerated in that law, but other commodities as well. Faneuil sent on June 7, 1737, a box of fine Barcelona handkerchiefs (62 dozen, valued at £434) to Thomas Lloyd, residing in North Carolina. They were to be sold for his account, the proceeds to be liquidated in pork, wheat or flour. He instructed Lloyd as follows: "Ye Mr. [Captain] does not know what they are & you cannot be insensible that they cannot be imported oppenly therefore I desire yr care in gettg of them on Shoar Immediately on

yre arrival." Faneuil was not loath to make his desire to evade duties known, not only to his business associates but also to posterity, for he again sends written instructions, this time concerning a shipment of Indigo and rum. He wrote on December 4, 1738, to Captain Wilkinson: "Send it to Providence & from thence to come down in Carts that is Provided you can get a certificate for it from the Custom house & by that means I could save the whole or a great part of the duty." Earlier in the same year, he had another occasion to show his skill in smuggling. He sent his brig Rochell, 120 tons burden, consigned to Robert Pringle at Charleston. He shipped £1,580/0/7 ostensibly all in rum, for the captain signed for a given number of hogsheads of rum; nor did the crew know of anything else in the cargo. But the following information was included in Faneuil's instructions to the consignee: "There are two casks, Viz. No. 1 and No. 2, wh are Brandy, wh you'll use the necessary Caution in getting safe Landed on Shore, so as not to be of any Prejudice to my vessel & advise me if at any time any quantity may be safely imported to you & how it will answer."

These three specific records of Faneuil are probably unique. There were not many self-incriminating letters written. The evidence of smuggling is naturally to be found by comparing the known quantities of rum and molasses imported and the

Customs receipts, as well as by contemporaneous writings of either the critics of the law or of its violation. The ease with which the duties could be evaded left little of interest to be written about the actual entry of the cargoes themselves. The practice was taken for granted.

¶

The captains of the vessels owned by Faneuil and other merchants usually had a part interest in the cargo, to the extent of a number of slaves, if not in the business itself. A characteristic trader of this type (1740 to about 1753) was Captain David Lindsay. His home port was Newport and his trading route the usual triangle, New England to Africa, to the West Indies, and home. He was courageous, pugnacious, and undaunted by the many ills that befell him on his voyages. There is no record to indicate that he felt at any time that either smuggling or slave-trading was not a legitimate occupation for a God-fearing, if somewhat superstitious, seafarer. Before starting on a voyage, he would consult an astrologer to learn the day and the time that would be most auspicious for sailing. Thus we find on an enigmatic chart, prepared by a conjurer for the Captain, that he was to set sail for Guinea at 11:32 o'clock on Aug. 22, 1752. He was then in command of the Brigantine *Sanderson,* a square-sterned vessel of about

40 tons, built at Portsmouth in 1745. The owner was William Johnson of Newport. That, in addition to her being small, she was a cheaply built vessel is evident, not only from her subsequent career, but from the fact that during the year she was built, she was offered for sale for £450 at a time when the cost of building a first-class ship of her size was about £1000. Johnson found no sale for the *Sanderson,* so he sent her, with Lindsay in command, to the West Indies for molasses. Lindsay had misgivings as to the staunchness of his vessel, for he wrote home from the Indies, with apparent relief, that his ship was "tite as yett."

Upon her return to Newport, she found a cargo of rum awaiting her and soon set sail for Africa. Notwithstanding the unseaworthiness of the boat, insurance was effected in New York for £100, but at the rate of 18 per cent! It is apparent from Lindsay's letters that he must have been on the African coast a number of months trying to get his cargo of slaves. He had been at least two months on the coast at Anamaboe, when he wrote, "I have Gott 13 or 14 hhds of rum yet Left abord, and God noes when I shall Gett clear of it. Ye traid is so dull it is actually a noof to make a man creasey."

In addition to poor trade, Lindsay had other troubles. His chief mate, after making four or five trading ships ashore, was taken sick. Mr. Taylor, the second mate, succeeded "& he got not well." And then James Dixon, the third mate,

succumbed to the fever. All of this Lindsay takes as a matter of course, but "wors than that," he writes, "have wore out my small cable, also oakum & have been obliged to buy one heare, for I thought the consequeance of yr intrust on bord this vessel was Two great a Rusk without a cable to trust, therefore I begg you not to Blaim me in so doeing." There would no better evidence than this cringeing apology from the otherwise stalwart captain of the absence of any signs of humanity on the part of the owner of the vessel. We can gather from Lindsay's last remark that William Johnson was miserly and avaricious, as were most of the slave and rum merchants of the time. Captain Simeon Potter, of whom more later, sums up his philosophy with, "I would Plow the ocean into pea porridge to make money."

Captain Lindsay was not happy nor easy. "I should be glad I cood come Rite home with my slaves, for my vesiel will not last to proceed farr. We can see daylight al round her bow under deck. However I hope She will carry me safe home once more. I need not inlarge." But he could not proceed at once for there was too much competition and it was slow work bartering rum for slaves. Alongside Lindsay's vessel lay Captains Hamlet, Jepson, Carpenter, Butler, Gardner and Ferguson. "All these is Rum Ships."

Finally he secured his cargo and set sail for Barbados. His bad luck continued. He was ten

weeks on the "middle passage" as the second leg of the triangular voyage was called. For twenty-two days on end, the Brigantine *Sanderson* battled wind and rain, which tore the sails to shreds. She arrived in Barbados on June 15, 1752. On June 17th, he wrote, ". . . My slaves is not landed yet; they are 56 in number for owners all in helth & fatt. I lost one small gall. I've got 40 oz. gould dust & eight or nine hundred weight Maligabar peppers for owners. Not to Inlarge, shall rite in a day or 2. We are all well on bord. Mr. Sanford died the 3d day of March and one John Wood who went in ye boat with him, died ye 3d of April, at sea. I left Capt. Hamblet at Cape Coast, sick. His slaves had rose & they lost the best of what they had. Heare is no slaves at market now." Surely, if there was ever a man who merited the modern distinction of being "hard-boiled" it was Captain David Lindsay of Newport.

In 1754, Lindsay again set sail, this time in a new schooner, the *Sierra Leone* of 40 tons, owned jointly by William Johnston & Co. of Newport and some Boston parties. As was customary at the time, the captain received in addition to his salary a commission on the business transacted. On this voyage, Captain Lindsay was to have four parts out of one hundred and four for "Coast Commission," five per cent on sale of the cargo in the West Indies, also five per cent on the goods purchased (molasses, rum, etc.) for the return cargo. In

addition, Lindsay had the privilege of bringing over five slaves for his own account, and the two mates could bring over two slaves apiece.

The voyage of the *Sierra Leone* was a more fortunate one than that of the *Sanderson.* The triangular trading cruise was completed in ten months, and the Boston interests wrote enthusiastically (New England enthusiasm) to their Newport partners: "April 28, 1755—Lindsay's arrival is very agreeable to us, and we wish he may never make a worse voyage. Are you determined to get a larger vessel for him?" This they apparently did, for in 1756 we find Captain Lindsay in command of the *Hanover,* a snow of about 112 tons, "a fine vessel for ye Guinea trade." On this trip, Lindsay not only handled slaves, but carried gold coin and bought some gold dust on the coast. He succeeded in landing only 133 slaves in Barbados out of 151, losing more than 10% in the "middle passage." Unfortunate it was that this crusade turned out so poorly as regards the loss of life, for it set out under an apparent holy dispensation, at least so the bill of lading would indicate: "Shipped by the Grace of God in good Order and well conditioned, by William Johnson & Co., owners of the said Schooner, call the *Sierra Leone,* whereof is master under God for this present voyage, David Lindsay, & now riding at Anchor in Harbour of Newport, & by God's grace bound for the Coast of Africa." Then followed the usual list of rum,

food, and shackles with "sixty musketts, six half barrels Powder" and so on, the bill ending with this blasphemy: "And so God send the good Schooner to her desired port in Safety. Amen."

A contemporary of Captain Lindsay was Captain Griffen, who sailed out of Newport in 1736 with a cargo of rum. When he arrived at Anamaboe he found plenty of competition. He writes: "Am like to have a long and troublesum voyage of it, for their was never so much Rum on the Coast at one time before. Nor ye like of ye french ships was never seen before, for ye whole coast is full of them." He did not know when he could get away, for he had only been able to purchase twenty-seven slaves after considerable time on the coast. At one time he had eighteen vessels competing with him for Negroes. "Ships that used to carry pryme slaves off is now forsed to take any that come: here is 7 sails of us Rum men that we are ready to devour one another, for our Case is Desprit." Captain Griffen entreated the owner of the vessel to take care of his family and see that they were not in want for he did not know when he would be able to return. "Capt. Hamond has bin heare six months and has but 60 slaves on bord." A hard life, indeed, for the Captain and his crew waiting six months and more in the broiling sun to complete his cargo. But what of the cargo itself? The Negro, shackled in the hold of a ship, within sight of his native land, possibly

within crying distance of wife, husband, father or mother, languishing month after month, only to be taken away forever. Aye, "shipped by the Grace of God!"

¶

Perhaps the most colorful of all the slavers was Simeon Potter. Potter was born in Bristol in the year 1720. Being of meagre circumstance, he received practically no education, a fact evident in his letters, which have been preserved. When but a lad he went to sea as a common sailor. In a short time he was in command of a privateer and after not many years in the hazardous but lucrative trade of privateersman, he was able to return to Bristol a rich man. He soon became the most conspicuous figure in the town.

W. H. Munro pictures Simeon Potter: "His wealth was acquired in 'privateering', and tales of his captures upon the sea, and especially of his wild marauding descent upon foreign coast, were familiar as household words to the ears of the Bristolians of three-quarters of a century ago. Those tales lost nothing in the telling and in them Potter came to be endowed with attributes he never possessed. This was especially the case with his stature. Like Charlemagne, he continued to grow taller with each fifty years after his death. He came in time to be pictured as a giant in size and strength, a man whose success was largely due

to the might of his arm, and not to any especial mental ability." It is probable that his wealth rather than his personality or ability was the cause of his great influence. It is believed he was worth $250,000, which was an immense fortune in those days.

When the Spanish and French wars were over, and privateering was for the time being at an end, he found an outlet for his energies in constant litigations. He was forever one of the parties to some lawsuit. Vain and arrogant, he tolerated no opposition, "exacted from his townsmen the deference invariably rendered by seamen to the quarter-deck, and never forgot his success was due to his unaided efforts."

Shortly after he returned from his famous raid on Gyapoc, French Guiana, his privateer, the *Prince Charles,* was visited by several officers from a British man-of-war which was lying nearby in Newport Harbor. The Britishers were fascinated by the trim, man-of-war appearance of the privateer and so expressed themselves to Potter, but unfortunately in a rather patronizing manner. Potter was not the man to take kindly this manner of address. Finally one of them asked him why he did not apply to the king for a commission, for he would then not only become a British officer, but probably get a larger and better ship. Captain Simeon Potter eyed the officer with an expression akin to contempt, as he snapped back, "When

I wish for a better ship I will not ask His Majesty for one; I will build one myself."

In 1752, he was chosen to represent the town of Bristol in the General Assembly. He rose as high as an Assistant, an office corresponding to State Senator.

It was in 1764 that we first find Captain Potter investing his fortune in African ventures. The invoice of "Cargo and Outfitts" of the ship *King George,* commanded by Captain William Earle, amounted to £80,112.0s.4d., in poor currency. Potter, unlike many slave traders and their Boswells, did not seek to cover his cloven-foot trade with a heavenly aura. He brazenly wrote the following instructions to Captain Earle:

"Make yr Cheif Trade with the Blacks and Little or none with the white people if possible to be avoided. Worter yr Rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short mesuer as you can."

Simeon can hardly be accused of dissembling. The reason for his monition to trade with the blacks, rather than white people, was that slaves purchased from independent black chiefs averaged about forty shillings cheaper than those purchased from organized companies of white men. The average price of a prime man slave about this time was 110 gallons of rum, which was equivalent to about £12 sterling.

There is nothing more characteristic of Simeon

Potter than his letter to the well-known Rhode Island merchant, Aaron Lopez, in which he vents his spleen on being asked to pay what he considers an unjust debt and admits giving bribe of four dollars to "save the duty":

"Bristol, March 1st, 1770.

"Sir,

Your favor of the 23 ult I received per Mr. Orr and observe you have received the 3 Bbls. Indigo, and as to the Bill I sea you are onest. I have received no answer from Captain Whipple to my letter altho I know he has received it. As to the Money being advanced by your Corespondant on my Credit I cant say I know the Gentleman or he me, and was it advanced for my Youse I shuld not hesitate a moment. But so far to the Conterarey of that, when my Sloop put back to stop a Leak the hol Expence was not more then 50 PS. 8/8 and Captain Whipple sold three hhds. of my Molasis to defray that Expence. as to your detaining the 6 Dollars fraght its very well. But as to the 4 Dollars charged you as a present to the Waiter * was ginen in Newport to save the Duty, and out of my money I sent to pay the Dutes of my Molases. Thearfore

* Tide Waiter, "a custom officer who awaited the arrival of ships (formerly coming in with the tide), and boarded them to prevent the evasion of the custom-house regulations." The term has passed out of use.

I shall think very hard if it's not repaid me again. I hope Captain Whipple will give you a satesfactuery account about the Bill. I shall due everything in my Power [to get] it settled. I am Your Humble [Servant]
Simeon Potter"

Potter was active in Colonial councils until the beginning of the Revolution, when after a time he ceased to take much part in the political affairs of the town or state. But the war appealed to the grizzled privateersman and he engaged in it with enthusiasm and soon found himself chosen by his fellow members of the General Assembly to fill the office of Major-General of the Rhode Island Colonial Forces. No doubt his lyrical effusion had something to do with this appointment. The following lines appear in Munro's Tales of an Old Sea Port. The poem in Potter's own handwriting is preserved to the present day by a descendant of one of his sisters:

"I love with all my heart
The independent part
To obey the Parliament
My conscience wont consent.
I never can abide
To fight on England's side.
I pray that God may bless
The great and Grand Congress.
This is my mind and heart

Though none should take my part
The man thats called a Tory
To plague is all my glory.
How righteous is the cause
To keep the Congress laws!
To fight against the King
Bright Liberty will bring.
Lord North and England's King
I hope that they will swing.
Of this opinion I
Resolve to live and die."

Potter did not hold his office of Major-General long, for in 1776 he had been chosen Assistant by the votes of the freemen of the colony. He was, however, neglectful of his duties, absenting himself from many meetings of the assembly. So dilatory was he, that a resolution was passed requesting his reasons for non-attendance and demanding his attendance at next session. In the absence of the record containing his excuse, Munro suggests his reason may have had something to do with the increased taxes, for he was the wealthiest citizen of Bristol and one of the most affluent men in the Colony. "The possession of money was his chief delight. He could not bear to see it taken away from him even though the independence of the Colonies might be thereby assured."

Colonial official records show his name for the last time in 1777. He was in that year chosen

Moderator, "but after the usual officers were elected he withdrew and refused to serve any longer." It was then pointed out that, according to a tax collector's account, he had neglected to pay all his taxes. Three years later, May 10, 1780, there appeared the following in the records of the Town Meeting: "That the Assessors make enquiry and make report to the town at the adjournment of the meeting, what part of Colonel Potter's taxes remain unpaid, and that Mr. Smith, the collector, be desired to apply to the Assessors of the town of Swansey to know at what time said Potter began to pay taxes in said town, and what part of his personal estate has been rated from time to time in said town." It appears that although he had his household in Bristol, his legal residence was in Swansey, Massachusetts, where the tax rates were much less than in Bristol. His nominal residence was in Swansey for the balance of his life.

In these later years, Potter became more active in religion. He was a member of Saint Michael's Church in Bristol. He painted the church, presented a bell with a French inscription to the Parish and was responsible for other godly benefactions. In 1793, the erstwhile privateersman, smuggler and slaver, became a vestryman. His name headed the list until February 20, 1806, when, at the age of eighty-six, Simeon Potter embarked for the last time, a silent passenger of Charon.

"From his house on Thames Street," writes Munro, "the old Captain was borne to his last resting place in the burying-ground upon the Common. It was the most impressive funeral the town had witnessed. All the people turned out to see the long procession and to take part in it. The privateering exploits of his early life were again retold, the innumerable legal battles of his later days were again recounted. Full of strife and tumult were the centuries in which his life had been passed, stormy and passionate his own career had been. He was perhaps the last, he was certainly the most successful, of the old sea captains who, as English subjects, had sailed forth from Narragansett Bay to make war as privateersmen upon the foes of Great Britain."

¶

Although these New England merchants sold most of their slaves in the West Indies, it must not be supposed that the Northern Colonies did not receive their allotment, but there seems to be some uncertainty as to the number of slaves imported into New England. Weeden cites an article in the Boston News Letter of August 10, 1769, which accounted for 23,743 negroes imported into Massachusetts from 1756 to 1766, but surmises that this number must have included those brought into Newport. It is certain that comparatively

few negroes were sold in New England, as the bulk of the living cargoes were disposed of in the West Indies.

There appeared in the Boston Evening Post of June 14, 1762, an advertisement of a "number of prime Goree and Senegal slaves" who had just been imported and were for sale. There also was displayed in the same news-sheet on August 3, 1761, a most interesting and amazing advertisement. It throws some light on the maze of warped and curious mental processes of these New Englanders which we must penetrate before we can pass judgment on their acts, in the light of their contemporary morals and ethics. "A parcel of likely negroes, cheap for cash. Also if any persons have any negro men, strong and hearty, tho' not of the best moral character, which are proper subjects for transportation, may have an exchange of small negroes." Weeden brilliantly and accurately characterizes the effusion as "a delicious and artless mixture of the casuistry of culture with rude, impassioned humanity,—a commingling hash of Satanic civilization and simple, savage nature."

A good insight into the New England "Casuistry of Culture" may be found in Judge Saffin's reply (1701) to Judge Samuel Sewall's tract (1700) entitled "The Selling of Joseph a Memorial." Sewall endeavored, by an interpretation and analysis of certain scriptural passages, to prove a case

against the enslavement of the Negro. Judge Saffin replies in part:

> "Our Auther [Judge Sewall] doth further proceed to answer some Objections of his own framing, which he supposes some might raise.
>
> "Object.[ion] 1. That these Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore under the Curse of Slavery. Gen. 9, 25, 26, 27. The which the Gentleman seems to deny, saying, they ware the Seed of Canaan that were Cursed, etc.
>
> "Answ. Whether they were so or not, we shall not dispute: this may suffice, that not only the seed of Cham or Canaan; but any lawful Captives of other Heathen Nations may be made Bond men as hath been proved.
>
> "Obj. 2. That the Negroes are brought out of Pagan Countreys into places where the Gospel is Preached. To which he Replies, that we must not do Evil that Good may come of it.
>
> "Ans. To which we answer, That it is no Evil thing to bring them out of their own Heathenish Country, where they may have the knowledge of the true God, be Converted and Eternally saved. . . ."

But even in the lengthy religious sophistry that precedes and follows the above excerpts, Judge Saffin advertently includes the most powerful and genuine argument of Colonial New England logic.

> "But if he [Judge Sewall] could perswade the General Assembly to make an Act, That all that have Negroes, and do set them free, *shall be Re imbursed* out of the Publick Treasury, and that there shall be no more Negroes brought into the country; 'tis probable there would be more of his opinion. . . ."

He ends his argument with a pæan to the Negro, strengthening his tract by a display of early American Ku-Kluxism:

> "The Negroes Character."
>
> "Cowardly and cruel are those Blacks Innate,
> Prone to Revenge, Imp of inveterate hate.
> He that exasperates them, soon espies
> Mischief and Murder in their very eyes.
> Libidinous, Deceitful, False and Rude,
> The Spume Issue of Ingratitude.
> The Premises consider'd, all may tell,
> How near good Joseph they are parallel."

With a few notable exceptions, the merchants left most of the religious white-washing to the di-

vines and judges and gave their attention to the business in hand, altho we find, with Weeden, that "the great and familiar Pecksniff had his progenitors at that day. . . . They rolled the whites of their eyes and uttered pious ejaculations as they scanned their ledges and wrote instructions for turning rum into 'Slops' or human souls immaterially. After attending to such matters, these 'respectable' men take leave of their captain, and 'conclude with committing you to the almighty Disposer of all events.' The profanity of sailors is grateful music to ears compelled to listen to the prayers of such damnable hypocrites."

¶

Among the prominent and highly respected merchants who engaged in the rum and slave trade of Rhode Island were such names, as Wilkinson, Hazard, Ayrault, Wanton, Champlin, Lopez and the four Brown Brothers, affectionately known in Providence as "Nicky, Josey, John and Mosey." There are many fragmentary records of their enterprises. Verner W. Crane has pieced together all the available records of the voyage of the sloop *Adventure* in 1773-74 and has reconstructed an almost complete account of the voyage, which is of outstanding value and interest. I will follow his account closely and quote freely. The sloop was owned and operated by the Champlins. Chris-

topher Champlin, the senior partner in the enterprise, was a Newport shopkeeper and importer and since 1756 had participated in a variety of maritime ventures: in privateering and illicit trade with the French West Indies during the Seven Years' War, in intercolonial commerce, and in the grain trade with Europe. By such means he had sought in many markets, specie and bills of exchange with which twice a year to re-stock his shelves with the latest merchandise from London.

The Champlins were of planter origin, and Christopher inherited one of the great Narragansett estates. But like other agrarian families in the "amphibious colony of Rhode Island," the Champlins produced merchants and seamen as well as squires. An uncle, Oliver Champlin, had been a master of West Indian trading vessels. George Champlin, junior partner in the *Adventure*, was graduated from the quarter-deck to the counting-house. In 1773, Robert Champlin was given his first command, but previous to that he had shipped to the West Indies as a sailor and had learned the African trade as mate in two Guinea voyages. He died in 1787 while still a Captain in the African trade.

Itemized bills for the outfitting of the *Adventure* supply the information of that operation preliminary to the voyage. The fitting-out of even a small sloop for an African voyage consumed three or four months, and required the services of several

score of tradesmen, carpenters, joiners, painters, caulkers, sailmakers and riggers—"the folk who, with the sailors, made up the populace of the northern seaport towns, ruled socially and commercially by the wealthier merchant-ship owners." The outfitting of the *Adventure* took from early July, 1773, until October 25, when she cleared. She took on board a pair of swivel guns and 100 grape shot, a variety of "double warded secret padlocks", "12 pr. Hand Cufs and Shackles"; a 21-foot boat; 26 gallons of vinegar to cleanse the cramped slave quarters between decks; a medicine chest well-stocked with Peruvian bark; and the usual provisions—pork, beef, sugar, molasses, wine, beans, tobacco, butter, bread, flour and the like.

The bulk of the cargo consisted of rum, distilled in Newport, which was furnished by the partners at 46s. (Rhode Island currency, ratio to sterling 36 to 1) a gallon: 9885 gallons by Christopher Champlin for his 11/16th share of the enterprise, the remainder, 14,495 gallons by George Champlin. The entire invoice, including cargo and stores, amounted to £37,628. 15s. 9d. (old tenor Rhode Island currency), a sum two or three times greater than the average invoice in the Champlins' trade with the southern continental colonies, or in direct trade with the West Indies. A larger crew was required for an African voyage, and the *Adventure* shipped ten men besides the master, including two mates, a cooper, a cook, a boy and five

sailors. On a voyage in the same vessel to the Windward Islands in 1769, one mate, four seamen and a boy had been sufficient. For insurance on his share of the vessel and her cargo, Christopher Champlin paid his London correspondents a premium and commission of £78. 15s. 6d. sterling, at the rate of 7 guineas per hundred pounds. (Compare with insurance rate on Lindsay's Brigantine *Sanderson* in 1752 page 90). The low rate in 1772 was due to the great success which the African vessels had been having.

Mr. Crane did not find the instructions for the guidance of Robert Champlin in his first command, but cites instructions issued by the owners of the sloop in 1772. Captain Tuell, then in command, was ordered to trade if possible at the "castles" (See Chapter V) instead of with the natives, "to lay a long time on the coast to piddle with the blacks must be against the voyage." On that voyage, Tuell found that the tribes had gone to war and that no black trade was running; but he was able, nevertheless, to buy slaves cheaply at the stations—for 140 and 160 gallons of rum. In the light of this experience, thinks Mr. Crane, it is probable that the owners in 1773 instructed Robert Champlin to deal with the European traders. But the new master was unlucky, and the prices which he paid were extraordinarily high. For women they averaged 190 gallons; for men, over 220 gallons. In the next year, therefore, he

was advised if the price exceeded 140 and 160 gallons to "endeavour to make what Trade you can with the blacks for a month or five Weeks, until you find what price the Castles will finally lower their slaves to."

Detailed instructions were also furnished a master to guide him in seeking the best West Indian market. These had frequently to be altered, as news of current sales were secured; supplementary instructions were then sent by West Indian vessels to the slavers' first port of call at Barbados or Granada. Five sets of orders were dispatched to Robert Champlin in the West Indies in 1775. It was customary with the Champlins to seek first a market in the Windward Islands and then at St. Christopher's; but if prices there were low, and more encouraging reports were received from Jamaica, the voyage might be continued to Kingston.

The passage from Newport to Sierra Leone was made by the *Adventure* in about five weeks. On the Windward Coast, rice was purchased for the further voyage, but no blacks; the negroes of that region were accounted poorer slaves than the negroes of the Gold Coast and Whydah, though superior to those from the Bight of Guinea, which the *Adventure* did not visit. The trade throughout was barter, but prices were set down in the Trade Book in the local money of account. (The complete trade book appears in the Appendix.)

The chief purchase was slaves, though a little pepper and some palm oil were obtained, and enough gold-dust to pay part of the master's wages. Rum was the principal medium of payment. If the reader will compare the amount of rum expended as shown in the Trade Book with the amount which appears in the invoice already referred to, he will note an excess of rum sold over that shipped,—about 500 gallons—which indicates that the Champlins, like Simeon Potter, were inclined to "worter" their rum.

The *Adventure* cruised and traded for four months between Sierra Leone and Whydah, and then took seven weeks to bring her cargo of slaves from Anamaboe to Granada where they were sold. Mr. Crane summarizes the finances of the voyage:

"It was customary to charge against the voyage, the whole outfit and one-third of the original cost of the vessel. Including wages advanced and clearance fees, the *Adventure's* outfit was £47161. 11s. 11d. old tenor; while the hull, rigging, sails, boats, etc. of the sloop 'as she came from the sea' were valued by her owners at £9000. The wages due on her return to Newport in July, 1774, were £1642. 2s. Other charges were insurance and commissions. The customary 'Coast Commission' to the master was '4 in 104' on the gross sales of the cargo; while the factors' commissions in the West Indies ranged from 2½ to 5% on all sales and

purchases. Apparently the sixty-two slaves enumerated in the Trade Book were all bought on owners' account, and no deduction need be made from the sale of the fifty-eight survivors for the 'privileges' usually accorded masters and mates of transporting slaves on their private account. In 1774, slaves sold in Granada at £35 to £39 sterling, and in the previous year some cargoes in Jamaica had averaged considerably more. Probably £37 sterling is not too high an estimate of the average on this small cargo. It was usual for the master to invest about one-third of the net proceeds in molasses, which the *Adventure* probably took on at St. Eustatius. The rest of the returns were taken in bills of exchange upon London. In the Champlin Waste Book under July 25, 1774—on which day the Newport Mercury recorded the return of the sloop *Adventure,* Robert Champlin [from] Africa & St. Eustatia—there appears a charge against the account of Hayly and Hopkins of London for nine sets of bills, amounting in sum to £1451 3s. 10d. sterling.

"When the ratio of 36 to 1 between Rhode Island currency and sterling is used, the gross returns from the venture (excluding the uncertain proceeds of a return West Indian cargo) will be found to approximate £77250 old tenor, and the expenses £62750. A profit of £400 sterling, or about 23%, if not spectacular in a highly speculative trade, was at least respectable. In spite of the

excessive price of slaves at Anamaboe and Cape Coast Castle, it appears that the *Adventure* had made a voyage,' "

In 1769, as mentioned before, the *Adventure* was employed in the direct trade to the West Indies, and the following letter written by George Champlin from Granada to Christopher in Newport, gives an interesting account of some of the customary trade conditions:

"Granada, Feby: 8th, 1769

"Dear Brother,

I have wrote you 4 Letters from this place of the particulars of the Sale of our Cargo, some of which no doubt will come to hand; My payment is due 20th Inst. and be that time I hope Rum will begin to come to Market as the Mills begin to grind very fast this week past. Tho' am afraid Rum will brake very high, as here are a Number of Vessells weighting for it. It's very uncertain what the Price will be, but am sure not under 2/4, and am much affraid higher, as the Planters ships large quantitys to Europe this Season, and are likewise well acquainted with the Price at N. York. Idon't imagineny a Vessell will sale with New Rum untill the Middle March, and I hope, if am blest with Health and met with no disappointment in my Payment, to be "one

of the first. I dont think it will answer to purchase any Coffe, as thir's such large quantitys' alreaday gone and so very high here, the Vessell by whom this goes has 25 thousand [pounds] on board. At Bottom you have the price I sold our Cargoe at. I cant think of any thing more material at present, but shall write by all Occations. Your Brother, etc.

Geo. Champlin.

Rice	22/ per ct.	Coffee	20/Sous
Shingles	30/ M.	Cocoa	14/Sous
Candles	27 Boxes 28 /	Rum	2/9 Old
	20 " 2/7	Sug.	38/ to 40/
	16 " on hand		

One peruses these old self-revealing letters with mounting interest, realizing that to do them justice would require more than a single chapter. For those whose interest may have been whetted by what has been recorded in this chapter, I have included in the appendix a few selected letters of the period. In addition, there will be found the Trade Book of the sloop *Adventure* for the voyage in 1773-74.

CHAPTER V

WHAT HAPPENED ON THE AFRICAN COAST

"And for a mantle large and broad,
He wrapt him in Religion."
—Hypocrisy a-la-mode, ROBERT BURNS.

Map of the west coast of Africa reproduced from an engraving made in 1791

CHAPTER V

WHAT HAPPENED ON THE AFRICAN COAST

IT must be remembered that in New England the triangular trade in molasses, rum and slaves was the "Big Business" of the eighteenth century. Many writers who opposed the evil did so with tongue in cheek, for "Big Business" then, as now, was accorded delicate and gingerly treatment. Much was written of the "daring voyages for slaves," of the prosperous trips of the "Guineamen," and of the intrepid character of the traders themselves. It was even customary, when a hazardous rum-and-slave voyage was about to be embarked upon, that on the Sunday before sailing an Elder of the church, often financially interested in the venture, should ask for Divine aid for the enterprise, and it is recorded that one elder added the following prayer to his benediction: "That an overruling Providence should be pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessing of a gospel dispensation." The cloaking of insidious and inhuman practices with a white mantle of religion was not

peculiar to colonial times. It has always been the very essence of Machiavellism.

It may be of interest to inquire into the details of how a "cargo of benighted heathens" was secured, and the methods by which the Negroes were made to "enjoy the blessing of a gospel dispensation."

¶

On the long, low, sandy west coast of Africa, from Cape Verde to Cape St. Maria, bordering an exotic, mysterious tropical hinterland whence came the multitudes of black wretches, was staged for nearly four centuries the infamous, barbaric trade in slaves. Goree and Gambia, Sierra Leone and Liberia, the Gold Coast and the Ivory Coast, the Gulf of Guinea, the Bight of Benin, Whidah and Calabar, Bonny and Anamaboe, are but a few of the names that darken the pages of Christianity. From 1502, when the first unwilling exodus of Negroes began, until as recently as 1888, when slavery was abolished in Brazil, and 1927, when slavery was abolished in the British Colonies on the west coast of Africa strange, weird, tragic adventure hovered about the coast. Disease, murder, rapine and torture, mitigated now and then by sordid romance and rum debauches, punctuated the trade which until 1807 was legal the world over.

In the early days of the traffic, individual slave

"The cloaking of insidious and inhuman practices with the white mantle of religion."

vessels operated alone, bargaining with the Negroes in coast villages for such slaves, gold or wax, as they might be able to supply. A vessel would sail along the coast, trading here and there, —a few slaves at one place, a little ivory or gold at another. In this manner, it required a long time to pick up a cargo, during which the crew was often severely decimated, due to tropical diseases and the treachery of the Negro traders.

The difficulties of such haphazard trading gave rise to the system of planting small settlements of Europeans at intervals along the coast, defended by well-equipped and sometimes powerful forts. These slave factories, as they were called, were in charge of a "factor" whose business it was to negotiate with the Negroes and to arrange with them to organize slave-hunting expeditions. When the slaves were brought back from the interior, they would be purchased by barter and housed in the "barracoons" until the slave ships arrived. The barracoons were made of rough poles of the hardest trees, four to six inches in diameter, driven five feet in the ground and clamped together by double rows of iron bars. Their roofs were constructed of similar wood, strongly secured, and overlaid with a thick thatch of long and wiry grass, rendering the interior both dry and cool. Watch-houses, built near the entrance, were tenanted by sentinels, with loaded muskets.

Factories were established by the Dutch,

French, English and Portuguese, along the western coast from Cape Verde to the Congo. Located, usually, near the mouth of a river, it was easy to tap the slave supply of the hinterland. At times, a small island located a short distance offshore was chosen, as being cooler and more healthful. Barracks, storehouses and barracoons, often occupying considerable land, were surrounded by the walls of the fort. The huts of the Negroes who were employed by the factory were outside of walls but always under protection of the guns.

On the Gold Coast was the principal fort of the English, called Cape Coast Castle, and nearby was St. George del Mina, erected by the Portuguese and captured later by the Dutch. Fort Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal, belonged to the French, as did a fort on Goree, an island near Cape Verde. Fort James was located on the Gambia, and other important forts were at Anamaboe, Accra and Whidah. These forts, mounting, as most of them did, from fifty to sixty guns, were not only impregnable to the Negroes, but capable of withstanding a regular siege by a European force.

They were manned by soldiers who were employed by the company. The rest of the personnel consisted of clerks, mechanics and junior factors. The latter, according to Dow, were in charge of the traffic with the interior towns. "These men would ascend the rivers in small sailing vessels or armed boats and exchange European manufactures

for slaves, gold dust and ivory furnished by the Negroes. Sometimes they would open a sort of shop or trading post in a populous town and remain there for several months at the pleasure of the local king or chief. Many of these men were outcasts at home or destitute of means, and therefore willing to engage to go to the coast of Africa where they knew they could lead a life of comparative indolence, with little or no restraint. There they might indulge nearly every human passion with utter freedom, whether it be confirmed drunkenness or unrestrained intercourse with Negro girls. They knew that the deadly climate was likely to claim them eventually, so it was 'a short life and a merry one' for many an outcast free of home ties."

On all parts of the African Coast, and also in the interior, many of the natives were born to slavery, being liable to sale at the will of their black owners. Most parts of the coast differed in their governments, some being absolute monarchies and others being almost aristocracies; but in both, the authority of the chief or chiefs was unlimited, extending to life, and was exercised as often as criminal cases required, unless death was commuted to slavery; in which event the offender was sold. If a shipper would not buy the culprit, he was immediately put to death. Fathers of free condition had the power to sell their children.

There were many circumstances by which a

freeman could become a slave, such as debt; and in some cases if the debt were large, not only the debtor but his family likewise became slaves of his creditors and were often sold. Adultery was commonly punished in the same manner, both the offending parties being sold and the purchase-money paid to the injured husband.

There were two crimes on the Gold Coast which were purposely encouraged in order to procure slaves: adultery, and the removal of fetiches. John Simpson, Lieutenant of the Marines on His Majesty's Ship *Adventure,* during the year 1788-89, was warned against connecting himself with any woman not pointed out to him, for the Negro kings kept several who were sent out to allure the unwary; if found to be connected with these, he would be seized and made to pay the price of a male slave. As to fetiches, which consisted of pieces of wood, old pitchers, kettles and the like, laid the pathways, he was warned to avoid displacing them, for if he should, the natives who were on the watch would seize him and as before, exact the price of a man slave. These baits were laid equally for natives and white men, but the former were better acquainted with the law and were more on their guard. One of the tricks used by the natives to secure slaves for the white traders was to cause young native girls to lure boys and men, and then have them seized and sold as adulterers.

Captives taken in inter-tribal wars were usually sold as slaves. It was only natural then that when slaves were scarce the white traders would encourage war, as they did in the following typical case:

About 1760, one John Bowman was made a factor at the head of the River Scassus. When he arrived there, he advised the chief of the local tribe that his orders were to supply them with powder and ball and to encourage them to go to war. The chief announced that he would be ready to make war in a few days, at the end of which time the warriors came to the factory for the powder and ball, as well as tobacco, and of course a goodly ration of rum. When these commodities were supplied, off they went to wage their petty warfare. There were about thirty in the party, some of whom returned in a week bringing with them three slaves.

Treachery was a part of the white trader's business acumen. The same John Bowman was at another time mate under Captain Strangeways. Their ship was lying in the River Sierra Leone at White Man's Bay, ready to sail. Bowman was sent ashore to invite two traders aboard. When they arrived, they were asked into the cabin. Meanwhile, the crew were employed in setting sail, it being almost night, and the land breeze making down the river. After they had weighed anchor and reached the sea, Bowman was called

below by the Captain, who, pointing to the sail-case, asked him to look into it and see what a fine prize he had secured. To his surprise, Bowman saw the two men whom he had brought on board lying fast asleep. The Captain had entertained them with plenty of rum and made them drunk, then concealed them there. When they awoke, they were sent upon deck, put in irons and cast among the other slaves.

These anecdotes, and two more which follow, were part of the testimony given before parliament in the years 1789 and 1790 in an effort to have the slave trade abolished.

One of the witnesses was James Morely, a gunner of His Majesty's Ship *Medway,* who made regular voyages to Africa from 1760 to 1776. He visited most parts of Africa, from the beginning of the Gold Coast to Angola. His own experiences in procuring slaves, and those of his associates, are not unusual in the annals of the Gold Coast Traffick. Morely admitted, "not without a sense of shame," that he made the natives drunk in order to buy a good man or woman slave to whom he found them attached. This he claimed was done by others, particularly a Captain Hildebrand. Hildebrand bought one of the wives of a man whom he had previously made drunk, and who wished to redeem her when he became sober the next day. The Negro, in his frenzy to buy his wife back again, offered a handsome profit to Hil-

debrand, who refused to resell her, and soon the poor wench was on her way to America.

Henry Ellison, another witness, was a gunner of His Majesty's Ship *Resistance,* and was in the slave trade from 1759 to 1770. He had been in many of the West India islands; particularly Barbados and Jamaica, and had also been on several slave voyages to Virginia and Maryland. While one of the ships to which he belonged, the *Briton,* was lying in the Benin River, Captain Lemma Lemma, a Benin trader, came on board to receive his Customs. While on deck, he chanced to see a canoe with natives in it crossing the river. Lemma dispatched one of his own canoes to seize and take it and, upon overtaking the Negroes, brought them to the ship. There were three persons: an old man, a young man and a woman. The chief mate bought the two latter, but the former, being too old, was refused. Upon this, Lemma ordered the old man into the canoe where his head was chopped off and the body thrown overboard. Later Ellison discovered by signs from the two slaves that the old man who was killed was their father.

Such instances, common in the history of slave trading, bring into sharp relief the terror, the barbarity and cruelty of the business. But there was another side to the commerce, the romantic, exotic and picturesque. Here was an ancient business, comparatively new, it is true, to Europe and Amer-

ica, but carried on by the natives in Africa before parts of that continent ever appeared on a white man's map. Few indeed were the white adventurers capable of leaving to us an adequate picture of the country and the trade in black men as it was carried on for generations, excepting for occasional dramatic incidents which make up the whole of most of the stories handed down. What lay hidden behind the mangroves that fringed the tawny beaches? Whence came the caravans of Mahometan and heathen slave dealers who, with pomp and ceremony, emerged from the hinterland to barter with the white traders established on that long coast? What happened on the Coast? Captain Theodore Canot knew; he understood and left to us through his biographer, Brantz Mayer, one of the most authentic and vivid pictures of the slave trade and country that exist today. His work has long been out of print.

Let us travel with him and in his own words describe that rich, colorful country, back of Bangalang, where may be seen "the conical huts of natives, bordered by fresh pastures dotted with flocks of sheep and goats", where we may perhaps pluck from the fields an erstwhile happy singing Negro, to be bartered for rum and shipped to America, where he may "enjoy the blessing of a gospel dispensation" and the lash of Simon Legree.

¶

Travelling along the coast, we turn the prow of our canoe through the surf, cross the angry bar that guards the mouth of an African river and suddenly find ourselves moving calmly between sedgy shores, buried in mangroves. Presently the scene expands in the unruffled mirror of a deep, majestic stream, whose lofty banks are covered by innumerable varieties of the tallest forest trees, from whose summits a trailing network of vines and flowers float down and sweeps the passing current. Beholding this scenery for the first time, we are struck by the immense size, the prolific abundance of the gorgeous verdure. Leaves, large enough for garments, lie piled and motionless in the lazy air. The bamboo and cane shake their slender spears and pennant leaves, as the stream ripples among their roots. Beneath the massive trunks of forest trees, the country opens, and, in vistas through the wood, we see innumerable fields lying fallow in grass, or waving with harvests of rice and cassava, broken by golden clusters of Indian corn. Groups of orange, lemon, coffee, plantain and banana trees are crossed by the tall stems of cocoas, and arched by the broad and drooping coronals of royal palm. Beyond this, capping the summit of a hill, may be seen the conical huts of natives, bordered by fresh pastures dotted with flocks of sheep and goats, or covered by numbers of the sleekest cattle. As we leave the coast and shoot round the river-curves of this

fragrant wilderness teeming with flowers, vocal with birds, and gay with their radiant plumage, we plunge into the interior, where the rising country slowly expands into hills and mountains.

The forest is varied. Sometimes it is a matted pile of tree, vine and bramble, obscuring everything, and impervious save with knife and hatchet. At others, it is a Gothic temple. The sward spreads openly for miles on every side, while from its even surface the trunks of straight and massive trees rise to a prodigious height, clear from every obstruction, till their gigantic limbs, like the capitals of columns, mingle their foliage in a roof of perpetual verdure.

At length the hills are reached, and the lowland heat is tempered by a mountain freshness. The scene beheld from almost any elevation is always beautiful and sometimes overpowering in its grandeur. Forest, of course, prevails; yet, with a glass, and often by the unaided eye, gentle hills, swelling from the wooded landscape, may be seen covered with native huts, whose neighborhood is checkered with patches of grass and cultivation, and inclosed by massive belts of primeval wildness. Such is commonly the westward view; but north and east, as far as vision extends, noble outlines of hill and mountain may be traced against the sky, lapping each other with their mighty folds, until they fade away in the azure horizon.

When, at morning, we behold a view like this

in the neighborhood of rivers, a dense mist will be observed lying beneath us in a solid stratum, refracting the light now breaking from the east. Here and there, in this lake of vapor, the tops of the hills peer up like green islands in a golden sea. But, ere we have time to let fancy run riot, the "cloud compelling" orb lifts its disc over the mountains, and the fogs of the valley, like ghosts at cock-crow, flit from the dells they have haunted since nightfall. Presently, the sun is out in terrible splendor. Africa unveils to her master, and the blue sky and green forest blaze and quiver with his beams.

¶

Canot had become associated with John Ormond, called the "Mongo" (meaning Chief of the River), the owner of a factory at Bangalang on the Rio Pongo. His account of the arrival of a slave caravan on the west coast (of which I have made liberal use), and the actual trading operations, is one of the most vivid to be found in the old literature of the African Coast.

¶

Long and dreary were the days and nights of the apparently interminable wet season. Rain in a city, rain in the country, rain in a village, rain at sea, are sufficiently wearying, even to those whose

mental activity is amused or occupied by books or the concerns of life; but who can comprehend the insufferable lassitude and despondency that overwhelm an African resident, as he lies on his mat-covered arm-chest and listens to the endless deluge pouring for days, weeks, months, upon his leaky thatch?

At last, however, the season of rain passed by, and the dry season set in. This was the time for the arrival of caravans from the interior so that the traders at Bangalang were not surprised when their runners appeared with news that Ahmah-de-Bellah, son of a noted Fullah Chief, was about to visit the Rio Pongo with an imposing train of followers and merchandise.

The only means of communication with the interior of Africa were, for short distances. by rivers, and for longer ones, by paths or trails leading through the dense forest and among the hills, to innumerable native towns. When the coast traders of the west were apprised that caravans were threading their way towards the Atlantic shores, it was always thought advisable to make suitable preparations for the chiefs, and especially to greet them with messages, before their arrival at the beach. Accordingly, "barkers" were sent forth on the forest paths to welcome the visitors with gifts of tobacco and powder. Barkers were colored gentlemen with fluent tongues and flexible consciences, always in the train of factories on the

coast, who hastened to the wilderness at the first signal of a caravan's approach, and magnified the prosperity and merchandise of their patrons with as much zeal and veracity as the "drummers" of more Christian lands.

A few days after such band of traveling agents had departed from Bangalang on their mission, the crack of firearms was heard from the hills in the rear, signifying that the Mongo's barkers had been

successful and that the caravan was in tow. A prompt response to the joyous signal was made by the Bangalang cannon, so that, after half an hour's firing Ahmah-de-Bellah and his party dramatically emerged from the smoke, marshalled by Ormond's band of singers, who preceded Ahmah, chanting with loud voices the praise of the youthful chieftain. Behind the master came the principal traders and their slaves laden with produce, followed by forty captive Negroes, secured by bamboo withes. These were succeeded by threescore bullocks, a flock of sheep or goats, and the females of the party. The procession was closed by the demure tread of a tame and stately *ostrich!*

Canot remarks: "It was the first time I had seen so odd an assemblage of beasts and humanity. Indeed, had the troupe been accompanied by a bevy of ourang-outangs, I confess I might, at times, have had difficulty in deciding the grade of animal life to which the object in front of me belonged."

Mr. Ormond, when put upon his mettle, was one of the ablest traders in Africa, and received the Mahometan strangers with becoming state. He awaited Ahmah-de-Bellah and his committee of head-traders on the piazza of his receiving-house, which was rather a stately edifice, one hundred and fifty feet in length, built to be fireproof for the protection of the stores. Upon being presented, each Fullah stranger shook hands and "snapped fingers" with the Mongo several times; and, as every petty peddler in the train wanted to salaam before the white man for good luck, the process of presentation occupied at least an hour.

According to coast-custom, as soon as these compliments were over, the caravan's merchandise was deposited within the walls, not only for security, but in order that the factory might gauge the *value of the welcome* which the owners were entitled to receive. This precaution, though ungallant, was extremely necessary, inasmuch as many of the interior dealers were in the habit of declaring, on arrival, the value of their gold and ivory to be much greater than it actually was, in order to receive a more liberal "present." Canot discovered

that "even savages instinctively acquire the tricks of trade."

When the goods were stored, a couple of fat bullocks, and an abundant supply of rice, were given to the visitors, and the chiefs of the caravan were billeted upon the townspeople. The *canaille* built temporary huts for themselves in the outskirts, while Ahmah-de-Bellah, a strict Mahometan, accompanied by two of his wives, was furnished with a pair of neat houses that had been hastily fitted up with new and elegant mats.

The caravan stock consisted of 3500 hides, 19 large and prime teeth of ivory, gold, 600 pounds of small ivory, 15 tons of rice, 40 slaves, 36 bullocks, 900 pounds of beeswax; and miscellaneous sheep, goats, butter and vegetables; the total was valued at $8,885. The goods were bartered for rum, cotton-cloth, tobacco, powder and muskets. The profit to the factory on the transactions amounted to 150%. Canot explains: "If women, offered in the market, exceeded twenty-five years of age, we made a deduction of twenty per cent; but if they were stanchly built, and gave promising tokens for the future, we took them at the price of an able-bodied man. The same estimate was made for youths over four feet four inches high; but children were rarely purchased at the factories, though they might be advantageously traded in the native towns."

While the merchandise of these large caravans

is unpaid for, their owners, by the custom of the country, remain a costly burden upon the factories. It was, therefore, natural that the Mongo was anxious to be free from this expense as soon as possible, and gave notice next morning that "trade would begin forthwith." Ahmah-de-Bellah, the chiefs of the caravans, and Mr. Ormond at once entered into negotiations, so that by nightfall a bargain had been struck, not only for their presents, but for the price of merchandise, and the percentage to be retained as "native duty." Such a preliminary liquidation with the heads of a caravan was indispensable, for without their assistance it would have been out of the question to traffic with the ragamuffins who hung on the skirts of opulent chieftains.

Each morning, at daylight, a crier went through the town, announcing the character of the specific trade which would be carried on during hours of business: one day it was in hides; another, rice; another, cattle. When these were disposed of, a time was specially appointed for the exchange of gold, ivory and slaves; and, at the agreed hour, Mr. Ormond, Ahmah-de-Bellah, and Canot locked the doors of the warehouse and traded through a window, while the barkers distributed the goods to the Africans, often using their whips to keep the chattering and disputatious scamps in order. Ahmah-de-Bellah pretended to inspect the measurement of cloth, powder and tobacco, to insure

justice to his compatriots; but, in reality, like a true tax-gatherer, he was busy ascertaining his lawful percentage on the sale, which he was to receive in return for the protection from robbery he gave the petty traders on their pilgrimage to the coast.

At length the market was cleared of sellers and merchandise— except the ostrich, which, when all was over, reached the Mongo's hands as a royal gift from Ali-mami of Footha Yallon, the pious father of Ahmah-de-Bellah. The bird, it is true, was presented as a free offering, yet it was hinted that the worthy Ali stood in need of reliable muskets, which his son would take charge of on the journey home. As twenty of those warlike instruments were dispatched by Ahmah-de-Bellah, the ostrich became rather a costly as well as characteristic gift. Each of the traders, moreover, expected a "bungee" or "dash" of some sort, in token of good-will, and in proportion to his sales, so that the factory people hastened to comply with all the common-law customs of the country, in order to liberate Bangalang from the annoying crowd. They dropped off quickly as they were paid; and in a short time Ahmah-de-Bellah, his wives, and immediate followers were all that remained of the seven hundred Fullahs.

¶

Ahmah-de-Bellah, tall, graceful and commanding, was the son of an important chief. He had

been, in accordance with his rank, free from those menial toils which, in that climate, "soon obliterate all intellectual characteristics." His face was well formed for an African, a high and broad brow, arched over a straight nose and his lips had nothing of that vulgar grossness which gives so sensual an expression to his countrymen. His manners to strangers or superiors were refined and courteous to a remarkable degree; but to the mob of the coast and inferiors generally, he manifested that harsh and peremptory tone common among the savages in a tropical country.

Ahmah was the second son of the Ali-Mami or King of Footha-Yallon, who had allowed him to exercise the prerogative of leading a caravan to the seaboard for the first time, in honor of attaining the discreet age of "twenty-four rainy seasons". The King, however, was to receive half the profits of the enterprise.

¶

The Mongo personally inspected all the slaves. As each negro was brought before him, he examined the subject from head to foot, without regard to sex. A careful manipulation of the chief muscles, joints, armpits and groins was made, to assure soundness. The mouth, too, was inspected, and if a tooth was missing, it was noted as a defect liable to deduction. Eyes, voice, lungs, fingers, toes and privities were not forgotten; so that when the

Negro passed from the Mongo's hands without censure, Canot observed: "He might have been readily adopted as a good 'life' by an insurance company."

"Upon one occasion," continues Canot, "to my great astonishment, I saw a stout and apparently powerful man discarded by Ormond as utterly worthless. His full muscles and sleek skin, to my unpracticed eye, denoted the height of robust health. Still, I was told that he had been medicated for the market with bloating drugs, and sweated with powder and lemon juice to impart a gloss to his skin. Ormond remarked that these jockey-tricks are as common in Africa as among horse-dealers in Christian lands; and desiring me to feel the negro's pulse, I immediately detected disease or excessive excitement. In a few days, I found the poor wretch, abandoned by his owner, a paralyzed wreck in the hut of a villager at Bangalang."

When a slave became useless to his master in the interior, or exhibited signs of failing constitution, he was soon disposed of to a peddler or broker. These men called to their aid a quack, familiar with drugs, who for a small compensation undertook to refit an impaired body for the temptation of greenhorns. Sometimes the cheat was successfully effected; but experienced slavers detected it readily by the yellow eye, swollen tongue and feverish skin.

Out of the forty slaves brought in the caravan of Ahmah, the Mongo rejected eight. After some altercation, the chief consented to discard seven, but insisted that the remaining veteran should be shipped, as he could neither kill nor send him back to Footha Yallon. Canot comments: "I was somewhat curious to know the crime this culprit had committed, which was so heinous as to demand his perpetual exile, though it spared his life. The chief informed me that the wretch had slain his son; and, as there was no punishment for such an offense assigned by the Koran, the Judges of his country condemned him to be sold a slave to Christians,—a penalty they considered worse than death."

Another curious feature of African law was noted in the sale of this caravan. Two women were drawn along with ropes around their necks, while the others of their sex and class were permitted to wander without bonds. The bound women, the Chief told Canot, would have been burnt in his father's domains for witchcraft, had not his sire been in so much distress for powder that he thought their lives would be more valuable to his treasury than their carcasses to outraged law.

It was a general complaint among the companions of Ahmah-de-Bellah that the caravan was scant of slaves in consequence of this unfortunate lack of powder. Ahmah promised better things in the future. The next year, the Mongo's barra-

coons should teem with his conquests. When the rainy season approached, the Ali-mami, his father, would carry on a great war against a variety of small tribes, whose captives would replenish the herds that, two years before, had been carried off by a sudden blight.

¶

It is most interesting to compare the moralizing of these Mahometan natives upon the subject of the slave trade with that of the pious New England traders, and to see the close similarity between their sophistries.

The Mahometan courts in the Fullah country rescued from slavery by law the people of their own faith, but omitted no occasion to inflict it, as a penalty, upon the African "unbelievers," who fell within their jurisdiction. Among these unfortunates, the smallest crime was considered capital, and a "capital crime" merited the profitable punishment of slavery. It was not difficult for a country of "true believers" to acquire a multitude of bondsmen. They detested the institution among themselves but considered it both right and reputable among the unorthodox. And here we have the parallel to the "benefits of a Gospel dispensation," for these black sons of Islam found that their Koran commanded the "subjugation of the tribes to the true faith" and "to enforce the Prophets' order against the infidels, they resorted to the

white man's cupidity, which authorized its votaries to enslave the Negro!" Canot's inquisitiveness prompted him to ask whether these holy wars spoken of in the Koran were not somewhat stimulated by the profits that ensued, and he ventured to hint that it was questionable whether the mighty chief of Footha-Yallon would willingly storm a Kaffir fortification, were he not prompted by the booty of slaves.

"Ahmah-de-Bellah was silent for a minute, then his solemn face gradually relaxed into a quizzical smile," as he replied that in truth Mahometans were no worse than Christians, and it was quite likely—if the white elect of heaven, who knew how to make powder, guns and rum, did not tempt the black man with their weapons and their spirits, the commands of Allah would be followed with less zeal, and with implements not quite so dangerous.

"I could not help thinking," wrote Canot, "that there was a good deal of quiet satire in the gossip of their Negro prince. According to the custom of his country, we 'exchanged names' at parting; and, while he put in my pocket the gift of a well-thumbed Koran, I slung over his shoulder a *double-barrelled gun*. . . We walked side by side for some miles into the forest, as he went forth from Bangalang; and as we 'cracked fingers' farewell, I promised with my hand on my heart, that the next dry season I would visit his father, the

venerable Ali-Mami, in his realm of Footha-Yallon."

¶

More than a century before Ahmah-de-Bellah, the Mahometan, pointed out to Canot how easy it was "for a country of 'true believers' to acquire a multitude of bondsmen," our own Cotton Mather, that zealous, inflexible, humorless New England divine, indicated a similar circumstance from his Christian point of view, the heretic in this case being the eminent William Penn, to become noted later for his equitable and generous dealings with the Indians:

"September, ye, 15, 1682

"To Ye Aged and Beloved

Mr. John Higginson:

"There is now at sea a ship called the Welcome which has on board an hundred or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn who is the chief scamp, at the head of them.

"The general court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huscott, of the brig Porpoise, to waylay the said Welcome, slyly as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified, and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of

these people. Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbados, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for his ministers and people.

"Master Huscott feels hopeful and I will set down the news when the ship comes back.

"Yours in ye bowels of Christ,

"Cotton Mather."

Bigotry and hypocrisy were the outstanding characteristics that marked the white *personae* of the American Rum Epoch, and I cannot disagree with the writer who compared the white and black participants in the trade by explaining that the whiteman usually mixed his rum with lime juice, water and sugar, but that the savage took his straight, and moreover, the white man drank it for his health, or for some other specious reason of the sort, while the savage took it because he liked it. And, concluded the commentator, "the relative levels of the two races were herein manifest."

CHAPTER VI

SLAVE TRADE

"That execrable sum of all villanies, commonly called the Slave Trade."

—John Wesley (Feb. 12, 1772).

CHAPTER VI

SLAVE TRADE

BEFORE going into more details concerning the methods of procuring slaves in Africa, it would be well to outline the general history of this traffick in Negroes, availing liberally of the splendid account given by Bryan Edwards in his History of the West Indies.

In the year 1442, while the Portuguese, under the encouragement of Prince Henry, were exploring the coast of Africa, Anthony Gonsalez, who two years before had seized some Moors near Cape Bojador, was ordered by the Prince to carry his prisoners back to Africa; he landed them at Rio del Oro and received from the Moors in exchange ten blacks and a quantity of gold dust, with which he returned to Lisbon.

The success of Gonsalez awakened the admiration and stimulated the avarice of his countrymen, who in the course of the next few years fitted out thirty-seven ships in pursuit of the same profitable traffic. The Portuguese built a fort on the Gold Coast in 1481, and later on built another on the island of Arguin, and a third at Loango Saint

Paul's on the coast of Angola. The King of Portugal then took the title of Lord of Guinea.

In 1502, the Spaniards began to employ a few Negroes in the mines of Hispaniola, now known as Haiti, but in the following year, Ovando, the governor of that island, prohibited the further importation, on the grounds that it made the Indians less tractable. However, due to the abusive treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards, they soon decreased in numbers to such an extent that it became necessary for the court of Spain to revoke the orders issued by Ovando and to authorize the introduction of African slaves from the Portuguese Settlements on the coast of Guinea. In 1517, Emperor Charles V granted a patent to certain persons for the exclusive supply of four thousand Negroes annually to the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico. This patent was assigned to some Genoese merchants for 25,000 Ducats, and supplying Negroes to the Spanish-American plantations became an established trade.

The Emperor was induced to authorize this commerce by Bartholomew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, the celebrated protector and advocate of the Indians. Bryan Edwards says of the Bishop: "He is charged with the iniquitous absurdity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he was concerting the means of restoring freedom to another." Robinson in his History of America says, referring to Las Casas: "While he contended

for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and, in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one, *still heavier,* upon the Africans. Las Casas in his Historia de las Indias admits that he was wrong.

To Sir John Hawkins goes the doubtful honor of being the first Englishman interested in the slave trade. Hawkins made several voyages to the Canary Islands where, according to the contemporary historian Hakluyt, he received information "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of negroes might easily be had on the coast of Guiney, he resolved to make trial thereof, and communicated that device, with his worshipful friends of London, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Master Gunson (his father-in-law), Sir William Winter, Master Bromfield and others; all which persons liked so well of his intention, that they came liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpose there were three good ships immediately provided, the Salomon of 120 tunnes, wherein Master Hawkins himself went, as general: the Swallow of 100 tunnes, and the Jonas, a bark of 40 tunnes; in which small fleete, Master Hawkins took with him 100 men."

It was in the month of October, 1562, that Haw-

kins sailed from England. He arrived on the west African coast shortly afterward, and by methods not pleasant to dwell upon, secured 300 Negroes. With these and other merchandise, he proceeded to Hispaniola, where he disposed of his entire cargo in exchange for hides, ginger, sugar and some pearls. He arrived back in England in September, 1563, after a prosperous voyage, bringing great profit to his fellow adventurers.

The success of his voyage attracted the attention of the British Government, who wished to share in this new and lucrative business. Therefore, in the following year Hawkins was appointed to command one of Queen Elizabeth's ships, the *Jesus,* 700 tons, and with the *Solomon,* the *Tiger,* a bark of 50 tons, and the *Swallow,* a bark of 30 tons, made a second voyage. On December eighth, Hawkins arrived at a small Island called Alcatrasa. They landed but were unsuccessful in capturing any Negroes, as the natives fled to the woods. Later, the *Jesus* and the other vessels proceeded to an island called Sambula. "In this Island," writes one of Hawkins' men, "we stayed certain dayes, going every day on shore to take the inhabitants with burning and spoiling their towns. These inhabitants (who were called Samboes) hold divers of the Sapies taken in war as their slaves, whom they kept to till the ground, of whom we took many in that place, but of the Samboes none at all; for they fled into the maine."

Many Samboes were taken later to America by other traders and the name remains today as one of the sobriquets for the American negro.

Hawkins made a third trip to Africa in 1568. This voyage ended most disastrously and terminated for a few years the English ventures in the slave trade.

An abortive attempt to establish a regular slave trade was made in 1618, when King James I granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich and some other merchants in London, to form a stock company for the Guinea trade. The ships were procured and fitted out, but the trade proved unprofitable, and the charter was permitted to expire.

In 1631, King Charles I chartered a second company for the African trade. The charter was granted to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby and other merchants. They were to have a monopoly on the trade to the west Coast of Africa, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the islands adjacent, for a period of thirty-one years.

By this time, the English had begun to settle in the West Indies and on the American continent, and Negroes were in great demand. The company soon found it necessary, at great expense, to erect forts and warehouses on the African coast for the protection of their commerce. Their monopoly proved to be one in theory only, for many private

adventurers and interlopers of all nations entered into slave trade.

A third exclusive African Company ("Company of Royal Adventures Trading to Africa") was chartered in the year 1662, at the head of which was the Duke of York, brother of Charles II. This company undertook to supply the West Indian plantations with three thousand negroes annually.

The company proved to be a failure, due to the successful competition of privately-owned ships operated by those who understood the trade and knew both the African and West Indies markets. The company had built some forts on the African Coast at advantageous locations for buying slaves. In 1672 they sold out to a new company called the Royal Assiento, for £34,000. The new company tried to protect their monopoly by using guns on the outsiders. The independents countered with petitions to Parliament to abolish the monopoly. The American merchants were among the leaders in the protest and so powerful was it that Parliament was obliged to yield and the slave trust was abolished. Writes Spears: "The company wanted to maintain a monopoly intact, and the English private trader wanted the monopoly abolished. The keen Yankee suggested that "it would be a great benefit to the Kingdom to secure the trade by maintaining Forts and Castles there, with an equal duty upon all Goods exported.' This compromise

was adopted. Parliament declared that the slave trade was 'highly Beneficial and Advantageous to this Kingdom and to the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging', and then enacted that private ships should be free to enter the trade on the payment of ten per cent duty on English goods exported to Africa. The tax money was used to maintain forts on the African coast." This, be it noted, was the first battle of the Yankees for their famous "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights."

At that time it was the policy of Spain to farm out to other countries her colonial trade. Both England and the British North American Colonies were interested in securing this business; so on March 13, 1713, what is known as the Assiento Treaty was signed. Although only the Royal company was named in the agreement, all the independent British traders were to participate. The Spanish agreed on their part that they would purchase a minimum of four thousand eight hundred negroes a year for thirty years, and that the company might sell as many more as it could for twenty-five years at any Spanish-American fort except three. This agreement cost the Royal Assiento 200,000 crowns spot cash, a duty of 33½ crowns on each slave landed, and a quarter of its profits each to the Spanish and the British kings.

The Assiento Treaty was made a part of the Treaty of Utrecht, which was signed on April 11, 1713, and although England obtained by this treaty

Hudson Bay territory, Acadia, Newfoundland, and Gibraltar, this slave-trade article "was regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of the pacification of 1713."

At this time the leading slave-ship ports were London and Bristol in England, and Newport in America. Prior to 1730, Liverpool entered into the African business with "a single barque of thirty tons." It was a small vessel but its trade was profitable and it proved to be the beginning of Liverpool's pre-eminent position as a world port. By 1752, Liverpool had eighty-seven vessels in the slave trade, Bristol one hundred and fifty-seven, and London one hundred and thirty-five. The ships of the Liverpool merchants were built sharp and swift, and a special dock had to be constructed for them. It was these docks that gave birth to the present elaborate dock system of the port of Liverpool.

The ship-chandlers of Liverpool displayed in their windows appurtenances of the slave trade; iron collars, leg-shackles, handcuffs, short and long chains, furnaces and copper kettles designed for the trade were featured. In the newspapers appeared the advertisements of slaves and slavers' paraphernalia. "The young bloods of the town deemed it fine amusement to circulate handbills in which Negro girls were offered for sale." The Merchants' Exchange, or Town Hall, quotes Spears, was ornamented in a way that was strik-

ingly appropriate, for "between the capitals runs an entablature or fillet, on which are placed in bas-relief the busts of blackamoors and elephants, with the teeth of the latter, with such-like emblematical figures representing the African trade and commerce."

In 1739, the Assiento was revoked, because of dissatisfaction on the part of both parties to it, and England was forced by popular feeling into a war with Spain. Between the years 1680 and 1700, about three hundred thousand negroes were exported from Africa. Bryan Edwards estimates that between 1680 and 1786, 2,130,000 negro slaves were imported into the British colonies in America and the West Indies. The mortality was extremely high; an average of 17 per cent loss of life being maintained over a period of many years and only 50 per cent lived or retained their health long enough to become useful laborers.

¶

A start in the direction of abolition was made in 1772, when an English court, through the efforts of Granville Sharp, declared that any slave coming into England immediately became free. In 1787, the "Society for the Abolition of the African Slave-trade" was formed in England. Granville Sharp was Chairman, and Thomas Clarkson was, next to Sharp, the most active member. In Parlia-

ment, William Wilberforce became the champion of the Society. The opposition was headed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, afterward William IV. Prior to the formation of the society, David Hartley, a member of Parliament from Hull, moved in the House of Commons (1776), "That the slave-trade is contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." In support of his motion, he exhibited irons and manacles which had been used on the Negroes when confined on the slave ships. Sir George Saville seconded the motion, but it failed of even a respectful hearing.

The first real discussion took place in 1788. Pitt was then the leader and, through his efforts and those of Sir William Dolben, a bill was passed restricting the number of slaves permitted to be carried to "five men to every three tons in every ship under 150 tons burthen (according to the Custom House measurement) which had the space of five feet between the decks, and three men to two tons in every vessel beyond 150 tons which had equal accommodations in point of height between decks." The House of Lords amended the bill to compel the carrying of surgeons on every slaver and to give bounties to slaver captains who lost no more than two per cent of the slaves during the middle passage. The bill was finally passed, and from that time on the subject was up in Parliament more or less constantly until 1807, when a

complete abolition bill, prohibiting British ships and British subjects from participating in the trade, was passed to become effective in 1808.

¶

In 1774, the conscience of the American colonists had been sufficiently pricked so that they abortively resolved that they should "not purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." Although a formal declaration, it merely served to indicate a growing and popular indignation, but did in no wise end the nefarious commerce. Even Jefferson, notwithstanding definite personal antagonism to the slave trade and slavery, pursued a cautious public policy relating to the evil. In 1776, although he proposed to put into the Declaration of Independence the charge that the British King had forced the slave trade on the colonists, "a proper sense of their own guilt made the delegates oppose it." It was his inability to make headway with his own countrymen that prevented him from joining in the general international movement against the slave trade. He so expresses himself in a letter written in 1788 to M. Warville:

"Sir:

"I am very sensible of the honor you propose to me, of becoming a member of the society for the abolition of the slave trade. You know that nobody wishes more ardently, to see an abolition, not only of the trade, but of the condition of slavery: and certainly, nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object. But the influence and information of the friends to this proposition in France will be far above the need of my association. I am here as a public servant, and those whom I serve, having never yet been able to give their voice against the practice, it is decent for me to avoid too public a demonstration of my wishes to see it abolished. Without serving the cause here, it might render me less able to serve it beyond the water. I trust you will be sensible of the prudence of those motives, therefore, which govern my conduct on this occasion, and be assured of my wishes for the success of your undertaking, and the sentiments of esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"Th: Jefferson."

In a letter to General Castellux (1785), Jefferson, writing of some strictures on slavery, of which he was author, says, "I have printed and reserved just copies enough to be able to give one to every young man at the College. It is to them I look, to the rising generation, and not to the one in power, for these great reformations."

Abolition of the slave trade in America was a long and complicated affair; first, a matter for the individual colonies; then the individual states; and finally the federal government. So involved is it in questions of government, politics, business and the real and fancied rights of individual states, that an outline of the movement is not adequate, and a detailed account is out of place in this work. The history of our country shows no greater case of legislative and political pusillanimity, unless it be in the present day wet and dry activities. In 1800, when a petition was before Congress to revise the laws relative to the slave trade, Dana of Connecticut declared the petition contained "nothing but a farrago of the French metaphysics of liberty and equality" and Brown of Rhode Island said: "We want money; we want a navy; we ought, therefore, to use the means to obtain it. . . . Why should we see Great Britain getting all the slave-trade to themselves—why may not our country be enriched by the lucrative traffic?" These at least were frank and bold utterances; but most of the bills, laws and enforcement measures were

shrewd and evasive. After the slave trade was finally abolished by the act of March 2, 1807, the United States entered into a most disgraceful era of purposeful negligence in law enforcement. Spears asserts, "Nothing like a complete story of the smuggling traffic in slaves carried on along the coast of the United States has ever been told, and none can be told, because of conditions that were well stated by Congressman Lowndes, of South Carolina, in the House on February 14, 1804. 'With navigable rivers running into the heart of it [his State] it was impossible, with our means, to prevent our Eastern brethren, who in some parts of the Union, in defiance of the authority of the general government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them [Negroes] into the country. The law was completely evaded, and for the last year or two, Africans were introduced into the country in numbers little short, I believe, of what they would have been had the trade been a legal one.'" The fling at New England shipowners was entirely justified by the facts, comments Spears, but he also points out that the citizens of South Carolina were the receivers of the goods stolen by the New Englanders.

It is interesting to observe that there are three distinct periods in our history when it was claimed that laws could not be enforced because of our long coast line, and the many navigable rivers which indent it. First, in 1733, this was given as one of the

principal reasons why Great Britain could not enforce the Molasses Act. Then in 1804, the same excuse was made for non-enforcement of an anti-slave importing law (not the complete abolition of the slave trade), and now on numerous occasions this traditional reason is invoked as a vindication for laxity in prohibition enforcement. On the first occasions, Britain was powerful enough to have prevented smuggling, and surely in the case of the two latter laws, the United States had and has the necessary forces to maintain them. Political strategy and official corruption is the answer in all three affairs. Frequently Congress passed anti-slave-trading laws to appease the non-maritime northern states, and then refused to appropriate sufficient funds to enforce them adequately, so it might retain southern patronage.

After the trade was beyond the pale of law, and no longer subject to even the mildest regulatory measures, it became more barbarous than ever. The price of Negroes went up, New England distilleries worked overtime, and New England sea captains and merchants lived true to their smuggling traditions of the previous century. The coast of Africa was still favored with the patronage of Americans, although in view of the illegality of the transactions, the business now lacked the benign and comforting blessing of the church. Alas, the slave trade had degenerated into a furtive, slinking, hunted, obreptitious occupation. The

supply of slaves for the Georgia and South Carolina plantations was threatened and their eagerness to buy made the trade most lucrative, worth the risk of capture and the not severe penalties. A slave smuggled into the United States showed from $350 to $500 profit. It was estimated that twenty thousand black men were smuggled into the United States annually, a sizeable business. At Barataria was Lafitte's pirate headquarters, and this became a regular slave depot. There was another slave clearing house at Amelia Island, Florida. The Governor of Georgia, David B. Mitchell, resigned his office in 1817 to engage in the revivified slave trade, causing a scandal and spurring the activities of the abolitionists in their demands upon Congress so to amend the laws that the penalties for manstealing might be as severe as for less popular crimes. Congress, however, was concerned with votes more than with humanity, and the agitation resulted in more laws designed to satisfy abolitionists without offending slave trader and slave owner, but quite ineffective excepting as a political expedient. For here again was Big Business, which must be protected; and the usual sophistries concerning property rights and the improved condition of the Negroes in America won the day. It was not until 1820 that a law was passed declaring slave trading piracy, and the punishment, death; and not until many years later did even this law put an end to the evil.

Naturally, to make effective the anti-slave-trading laws, international cooperation was imperative. England took the initiative and sacrified her important Liverpool slave trade, and its dependent interests, went afoul the material interests of her West Indian colonies, then thought to be dependent on slaves for the sugar plantations, and went so far as to pay to Spain a £400,000 cash indemnity to secure her cooperation. But Uncle Sam was not in a sacrificial mood, and the decrease of English and Spanish activities in Africa brought the price of slaves there to as low as twenty dollars, and the prohibitory laws in the United States brought the price of a slave in Georgia to $500; a cargo of 600 slaves bringing $300,000 gross to the owner. As it was easier to fix and circumvent our own officials in the United States than to chance the unknown strength of British enforcement, the United States, under the patriotic guise of national pride, stubbornly and emphatically refused to grant to British cruisers the right to search vessels under the American flag, thus wittingly making the American flag a protection to the barbarous violators of our own laws. Few of our cruisers were sent to the African Coast. In 1842, the United States entered into a treaty with Great Britain, known as the Ashburton Treaty, which obligated us to keep a large squadron on the African Coast.

Later we shall examine this traffic more closely, both prior to and after the Treaty.

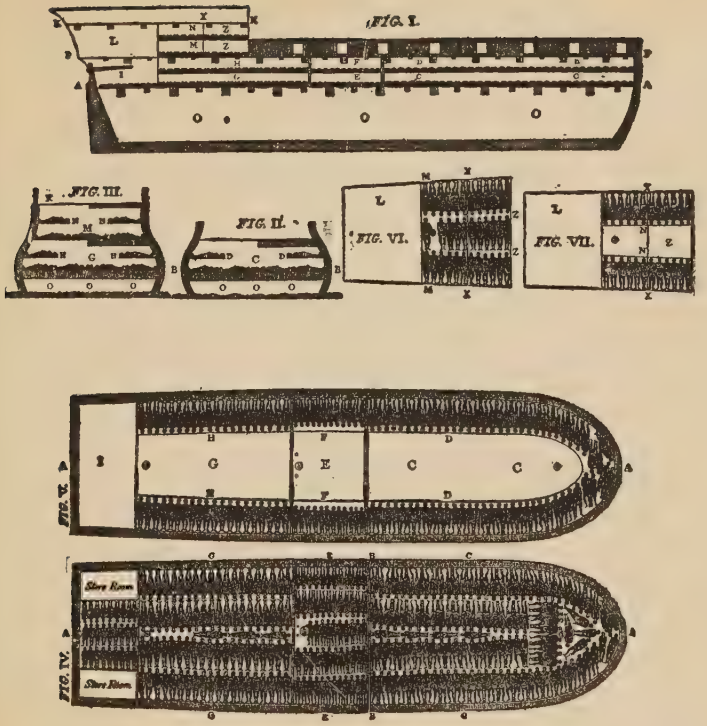
CHAPTER VII

SLAVE SHIPS

"It was in sweet Senegal that my foes did me enthral,
For the lands of Virginia,—ginia, O:
Torn from that lovely shore, and must never see it more;
And alas! I am weary, weary O:
Torn from that lovely shore, and must never see it more;
And alas! I am weary, weary O:"

—The Slave's Lament, ROBERT BURNS.

DIMENSIONS OF THE *BROOKES*	Feet	Inches
Length of the *Lower Deck,* gratings and bulkheads included at AA	100	0
Breadth of *Beam* on the *Lower Deck* inside, BB.	25	4
Depth of *Hold,* OOO from ceiling to ceiling...	10	0
Height between decks from deck to deck.....	5	8
Length of the *Men's Room,* CC on the lower deck.	46	0
Breadth of the *Men's Room,* CC on the lower deck	25	4
Length of the *Platforms,* DD in the men's room	46	0
Breadth of the *Platforms* in the men's room on each side	6	0
Length of the *Boys' Room,* EE	13	9
Breadth of the *Boys' Room*	25	0
Breadth of *Platforms,* FF in Boys' room.....	6	0
Length of *Women's Room,* GG	28	6
Breadth of *Women's Room*	23	6
Length of *Platforms,* HH in women's room....	28	6
Breadth of *Platforms* in women's room.....	6	0
Length of the *Gun Room,* II on the lower deck..	10	6
Breadth of the *Gun Room* on the lower deck ...	12	0
Length of the *Quarter Deck,* KK	33	6
Breadth of the *Quarter Deck*	19	6
Length of the *Cabin,* LL	14	0
Height of the *Cabin*	6	2
Length of the *Half Deck,* MM	16	6
Height of the *Half Deck*	6	2
Length of the *Platforms,* NN on the half deck..	16	6
Breadth of the *Platforms* on the half deck	6	0
Upper deck, PP		



Plan of the Brookes, *showing how Negroes were stowed between decks.*

CHAPTER VII

SLAVE SHIPS

THE glorious American Maritime saga has one black and notorious interlude, and the rum, molasses and slave trade, which proved so important a stimulant to the American merchant marine in the eighteenth century does not bear too close scrutiny by patriotic spread-eagles. It was in August, 1619, about a year before the arrival of the *Mayflower,* that another ship of less renown, but of equal import, arrived at the English settlement of Jamestown. She flew the Dutch flag. Little is known of the vessel; by whom she was commanded, and under what name she sailed, there is no record. But what is of greater moment, and of which we have unimpeachable evidence, is the fact that she landed twenty Negro slaves, the first importation of its kind known in American history. About the same time, the British ship *Treasurer* arrived in Virginia and also landed slaves, and there is some dispute among historians as to whom the credit for the first slave transaction is due. The preponderance of evidence favors the unnamed Dutchman.

The first American-built slaver of record is the

Desire, a vessel of 120 tons. She was constructed at Marblehead in 1636. Winthrop's Journal refers to the ship under the date of February 26, 1638:

"Mr. Pierce in the Salem ship, the Desire, returned from the West Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence, and brought some cotton and tobacco and Negroes, etc., from thence, and salt from Tortugas. Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those parts."

The *Desire* was the first of a long line of New England rum and slave ships, most of them, at least the earlier ones, very small. There was a small sloop, the *Welcome,* which had a capacity of 5000 gallons of molasses. Captain Lindsay's brigantine *Sanderson* carried 10,000 gallons of molasses. (By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that today some tank steamers used in the molasses trade are built to carry over two million gallons.) The *Fame* was only 79 feet long, with a 26½-foot beam.

When the slave trade was legal, a small vessel of 20 tons was licensed to carry forty-five slaves, being one and one-half to each ton register. After slave trading became outlawed, the cupidity of the traders knew no bounds, and there is an account of a 30-ton vessel which carried two hundred and thirty-seven negroes on a single voyage. Open rowboats, 24 feet long by 7 wide, were known to

have landed as many as thirty-five children out of fifty, with which these boats began their voyage.

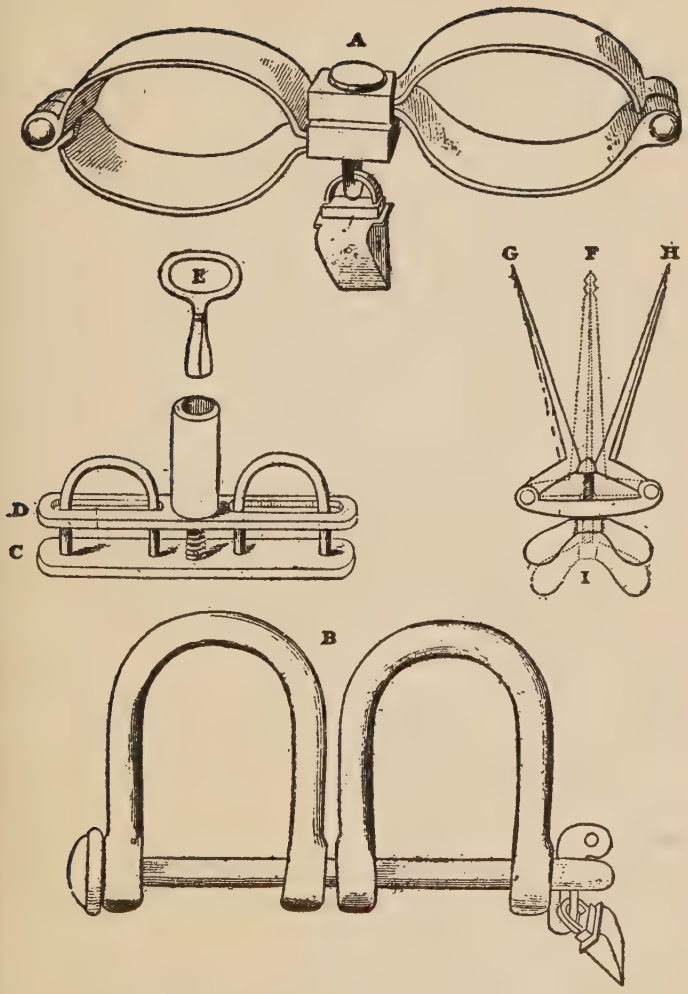
In a contract made in 1747 for the building of a brigantine, the following dimensions were specified: "Sixty feet length of keel, straight rabbet, and length of rake forward to be fourteen feet, three foot and one half of which to be put into the keel, so that she will then be sixty-three feet keel and eleven feet rake for-ward. Twenty-three feet by the beam, ten feet in the hold, and three feet ten inches betwixt decks, and twenty inches waste. Rake abaft to be according to the usual proportions, to have a sufficient false stern. Keel to be sided thirteen inches."

On the larger ships, there was no more humanity shown than on the smaller ones, for the black men were packed in rows between the decks with the roof only 3 feet, 10 inches above the floor on which they lay. With from 10 to 16 inches' surface room for each, they often had to lie spoon fashion. It must not be forgotten that the voyages frequently took several months. At times they were packed so that the head of one slave would rest between the thighs of another, and thus they would remain for weeks during the voyage across the ocean. The accompanying cut appears in a book on the slave trade, published in London in 1791. This is a plan of an English ship, the *Brookes,* of 320 tons. The vessel was, by act of Parliament, allowed to carry four hundred and fifty-four ne-

groes. This means that three more negroes could legally be carried than the plan calls for. On the *Brookes,* every man slave was allowed a space of 6 feet by 1 foot, 4 inches; each woman, 5 feet, 10 inches, by 1 foot, 4 inches; the boys, 5 feet by 1 foot, 2; and the girls, 4 feet, 6, by 1 foot. When the four hundred and fifty-one slaves were put into the different rooms of the *Brookes,* the floors were not only covered with bodies, but these bodies actually touched one another. On one voyage, the *Brookes* carried six hundred slaves.

In transcribing this description of the *Brookes* from the original record, which was prepared for Parliament while the ship was in active operation in the slave trade, I have naturally had to transpose the verb from the present to the past tense, and notwithstanding that the account is unimpeachable, it seems impossible to believe that at any time could such a record have been written in the present tense.

Many of the details of several voyages made by the *Brookes* are available, but most of them are of so revolting and disgusting a nature that I prefer to leave them to the imagination of the reader. Frequently the slaves went on a hunger strike, in an effort to starve themselves to death, and compulsion was then used to make them take their food. On page 175 is shown a device used to force open the negroes' mouths. When sick, they often refused to take medicines. The ship was fitted up



Shackles and Instruments of Torture Used on Slave Ships.
A *Wrist Shackle.* B *Leg Shackle.* C D E *Thumb Screw.*
F G H I *"Speculum oris," to open mouths of sulky slaves.*

with a view to preventing slaves from jumping overboard, but they often succeeded in so doing. On one voyage, a number of Negroes threw themselves into the sea, with the idea that they would get back to their own country. The Captain, in order to obviate this fancy, thought of an expedient, viz., to cut off the heads of those who died, intimating to the slaves that if determined to go, they must return without their heads. The slaves were accordingly brought up to witness the operation. One of them, seeing the carpenter standing with his hatchet ready to strike off the head of a dead slave, burst the cords which bound him and flying to the place where the nettings had been unloosed in order to empty the tubs, darted overboard. The ship brought to and a man was placed in the main-chains to catch him. When the Negro saw this, he dove under water and rose again at a distance from the ship, making signs expressive of his happiness in escaping; he then went down, and was seen no more. This circumstance deterred the Captain from trying the expedient any more.

¶

The Reverend Pasacoa Grenfell Hill, a chaplain in the British Navy, wrote an interesting account of how his ship captured a slaver named the *Cleopatra* with a full cargo of Negroes. The captured vessel, with the Negroes on board, headed

for the Cape of Good Hope, where the slaves were to be liberated. The humane captors at once brought the Negroes on deck for exercise and fresh air. They realized that they were to be liberated, and kissed the hands and clothing of their deliverers. Shortly thereafter, a severe squall came up and the slaves were ordered below. The night was intensely hot, and four hundred of these wretched creatures were jammed into a hold 36 feet long and 7 feet wide, and only 3½ feet in height. They at once made an effort to get out and into the open air, but they were thrown back, and in an effort to prevent them from reaching the deck, from which they would have undoubtedly been washed overboard, the after-hatch was closed down upon them. Over another hatchway in the forepart of the vessel was fastened a wooden grating. This was the sole inlet for air. They all attempted to reach this space, and of consequence it was rendered useless. Clinging to it for air, they completely barred its entrance. They attempted to force their way through spaces 14 inches long and 6 inches in breadth, and in their frenzy were in some instances successful.

Chaplain Hill writes in his journal: "The cries, the heat, I may say without exaggeration, the smoke, of their torment which ascended, can be compared to nothing earthly. One of the Spaniards gave warning that the consequence would be many deaths; this prediction was fearfully veri-

fied, for the next morning fifty-four crushed and mangled corpses were brought to the gangway and thrown overboard. Some were emaciated from disease; many bruised and bloody. Antoine tells me that some were found strangled, their hands still grasping each other's throats."

It now seems amazing that men of understanding, including ministers, could even have tolerated this trade, and yet George Dowing, a clergyman in Massachusetts, wrote of slavery in Barbados: "I believe they have bought this year no less than 1000 negroes, and the more they buye, the better able they are to buye, for in a year and a half, they will earne, *with God's blessing,* as much as they cost."

On one occasion, the Captain of a Boston ship, the *Rainbow,* returning from a particularly brutal slave voyage, was arrested and was forced to send the slaves back to Africa. The reason was not the brutality of the trade, but it had been reported that the slaves were acquired on a Sunday, and his punishment was for the then heinous crime of Sabbath-breaking.

¶

It is a peculiar circumstance that the men who actually carried on this inhuman traffic had the courage and daring to risk their own lives in the type of vessels which they frequently sailed, particularly, the American skippers. Tiny craft,

which today would only be considered suitable for service close to the shore, would sail on long voyages to the west coast of Africa, and thence to the West Indies. It took from eight to ten weeks to cross the ocean, and the ships were often away from their home ports for the better part of a year. In many cases, the vessels were old, dilapidated, and unseaworthy.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, not only were the seamen menaced by the inferior condition of their vessels, but by the French privateers, who swarmed the seas, always on the lookout for prizes, and frequently slaver met privateer in a desperate, bloody battle.

"One party following as a trade legalized piracy and violent theft of cargoes; the other employed in the violent theft of men and women, and the incitement of murder and rapine, that their cargoes may be the fuller."

"There would have been," writes Abbot, "but scane loss to mankind in most of these conflicts, had privateer and slaver both gone to the bottom." This situation was not unlike that which exists at sea today between the rum-runners and hijackers.

The slavers themselves often turned pirate or privateer, often robbing a smaller craft of its load of slaves, and then actually turned to piracy as a permanent profession.

At times, but not frequently, the slaves would

mutiny. Such an insurrection was described in an official communication to Secretary of State James Buchanan by U. S. Consul George W. Gordon. It was the case of the slaver *Kentucky,* which carried five hundred and thirty slaves. The insurrection was speedily suppressed, but the Captain feared another outbreak and was determined to give the captives an object lesson by punishing the ringleaders. "They were ironed, or chained, two together, and when they were hung, a rope was put around their necks and they were drawn up to the yardarm clear of the sail. This did not kill them, but only choked or strangled them. They were then shot in the breast, and the bodies thrown overboard. If one only one of the two that were ironed together was to be hung, the rope was put around his neck and he was drawn up clear of the deck and his leg laid across the rail, and chopped off to save the irons and release him from his companion, who at the same time lifted up his leg until the other was chopped off, as aforesaid, and he released. The bloody negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast, and thrown overboard. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off this way. When the legs fell on the deck, they were picked up by the crew and thrown overboard, and sometimes they shot at the body while it still hung, living, and all sorts of sport was made of the business."

¶

Bryan Edwards, the author of a History of the West Indies, first published in 1791, and regarded as one of the most authoritative works on the early history of the West Indies, was himself a planter and slave owner. He did much toward improving the conditions in the slave trade, and ultimately had a great deal to do with its abolition. However, he was not an extremist, and gave his version of what he considered to be the average treatment on board a slave ship. There are parts of his book which would make one almost believe that this trade was not only humane, but quite salutary to the Negro. Here is his description of a slave ship: "It is admitted on all hands that the men slaves are secured in irons when they first come on board; but Sir George Young, a Captain in the Royal Navy who appears to be well acquainted with the trades in all its branches, is of opinion that this is not practiced more than necessity requires. The mode is, by fastening every two men together, the right ankle of one being locked by means of a small iron fetter to the left of the other; and if marks of a turbulent disposition appear, an additional fetter is put on their wrists. On the passage, when danger is no longer apprehended, these irons are commonly taken off; and women and young people are exempt from them from the beginning. They are lodged between decks, on clean boards, the men and women being separated from each other by bulkheads, and fresh air is admitted by means of

wind-sails or ventilators; covering of any kind, as well from the warmth of the climate as from the constant practice of going naked, would be insupportable to them. Every morning, if the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and allowed to continue there until the evening. Their apartments, in the meantime, are washed, scrubbed, fumigated and sprinkled with vinegar. The first attention paid to them in the morning is to supply them with water to wash their hands and faces, after which they are provided with their morning meal: this, according to the country from whence they come, consists of either Indian corn, or of rice or yams. Before noon, they are constantly and regularly made to bathe in salt water, and nothing can be more agreeable and refreshing." This pretty description of the life of the Negroes on board a slave ship is written with much the style of an advertisement for a Cunard Student Cruise. "Their dinner is varied, consisting sometimes of food to which they have been accustomed in Africa, as yams and Indian corn, etc., and at other times of provisions brought from Europe, as dried beans and peas, wheat, shelled barley and biscuit; all these are boiled soft in steam and mixed up with a sauce made of meat, with fish, or palm oil; this last is a constant and desirable article in their cookery. At each meal, they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewise a sufficiency of fresh water, unless when, from an uncommon long

voyage, the preservation of the ship compels the Captain to put them to a short allowance. Drams also are given them when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco whenever they desire them. In the intervals between their meals, they are encouraged to divert themselves with music and dancing, for which purpose such rude and uncouth instruments as are used in Africa, are collected before their departure; and they are also permitted to amuse themselves with games of chance, for which they are likewise furnished with implements of African invention." One would almost believe from this last sentence that the Negroes also carried on auction pools, based on the day's run of the ship. "In sickness, the invalids are immediately removed to the Captain's cabin, or to a hospital built in the forecastle, and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumstances will admit; and when, fortunately for the Negroes, the ship touches at any place in her voyage, as frequently happens, every refreshment that the country affords, as cocoanuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all sorts, are distributed among them; and the refreshments of the same kind are freely allowed them at the place of their destination, between the days of arrival and sail."

Edwards seems to be convinced that this description of the treatment of negroes on a slave ship is accurate, but he admits that there was some-

thing wrong, for the loss by death on the voyage amounted frequently to fifteen per cent, and an additional four and one-half per cent while in the harbors of the West Indies, prior to their sale.

¶

It is not surprising that in the long voyage of the slavers from Africa to America, there should have been intimate relations between the white officers and crew and the Negro women. For the most part, the crews of the slavers were a lecherous, dissolute lot, and on many trips, almost the entire passage was devoted to wild bestial orgies. James Arnold, a surgeon on board the brig *Ruby* of Bristol (England) testified before the Parliamentary Committee in 1789 concerning the captain of that vessel: "It was his general practice," said Arnold, "on the receipt of a woman slave—especially a young one—to send for her to come to his cabin so that he might lie with her. Sometimes they would refuse to comply with his desires and would be severely beaten by him and sent below. There was one young girl that he retained for some time as his favorite and kept her in his cabin, until one day when she was playing with his son, she accidentally tore his shirt. When the Captain learned of it, he whipped her unmercifully with the cat, and beat her up with his fists until she threw herself from him against the pumps and

in doing so injured her head so severely that she died three days after. She had then been living with him as his mistress for five or six months."

Some years later, after slave trading had been outlawed, conditions on the slavers became even worse. Captain Richard Drake, notorious slave smuggler, whose autobiography contains some of the most lurid accounts of atrocities and ugly adventures in the literature of the slave business, gives the following account of a voyage on the Brazilian brig *Gloria:*

"She was a staunch, handsome clipper craft and deserved better masters. On the first voyage out of Calabar, we had not been out a week before I found that the Captain and crew were desperadoes of the worst kind. Once off the coast, the ship became half bedlam and half brothel. Ruiz, our captain, and his two mates set an example of reckless wickedness. They stripped themselves and danced with black wenches while our crazy mulatto cook played the fiddle. There was little attempt at discipline and rum and lewdness reigned supreme." While these vicious jamborees were going on, the slaves were crammed in the hold, cabin and peak and were packed like herrings on shelves around the vessel's sides. Most of the time they were kept down by gratings, and the shrieks and groans of the half-suffocated negroes below could be heard by the revelers.

"On the eighth day out I made my rounds of

the half deck, holding a camphor bag in my teeth, for the stench was hideous. The sick and dying were chained together. I saw pregnant women give birth to babies while chained to corpses which our drunken overseers had not removed."

The young women fared best at first, for they were allowed to come on deck as companions for the carousing crew, but after they had served their purpose they were driven below to satisfy the lusts of the negroes.

"The quarreling and bestiality that followed," writes Drake, was sickening. They tore and gnawed each other in fights over the rum rations which our captain ordered, and for possession of the miserable wenches."

¶

Infectious diseases were responsible for most of the fatalities on the "middle passage" and were feared by the white crew as well as the blacks. Overcrowding, wretched food, depressing homesickness, lack of fresh air and exercise, and the seemingly endless duration of the voyage, encouraged the ravages of dreadful diseases. Scurvy and yellow-jack were the consternation of even the toughest captain, for an epidemic starting in the hold would quickly spread and often clean out the deck. The infamous story of the French slaver *Rodeur* makes vivid the horrors of the traffic. It

was in the year 1819; she was en route to Guadeloupe from the Gold Coast; only the usual inhumanities prevailed aboard; over-crowding, floggings, stench, vermin, and the moans of wretched beings freshly torn from home and kin. And then descended upon this vile ship the terrible scourge, "opthalmia," a highly infectious and virulent disease of the eyes. Rapidly it spread from one poor exile to another. The captain and crew were terrorized. Thirty-six black sufferers were relieved of their burdens by being thrown into the sea alive, this with the hope of checking the epidemic. But to no avail. One by one the crew were stricken and became stone blind, until at last there was but one remaining with eyesight. For days upon days, with the two good eyes at the wheel, the *Rodeur* made her tortuous, staggering way, the blinded ones stumbling over one another as they endeavoured to handle sheet and rope. And then one day, as hope was abandoned, two eyes saw a sail on the horizon. A cry of joy from the helmsman was echoed round the deck, as she made for the unknown ship. In two hours' time the *Rodeur* was within hailing distance, but something about the stranger delayed the helmsman's call. A phantom ship! Sails hanging loosely and some in shreds; riggings unkempt and tangled; the vessel rolled awkwardly in the trough of the sea. The helm, unmanned, moved erratically with the swaying and twisting of the boat. No, not a phantom,

but an abandoned derelict; a cruel and merciless jest; all hope of rescue gone. The *Rodeur* was about to turn when across the water came a faint cry from the derelict. The *Rodeur* again approached, but did not launch a small boat. Blind men could not man it. A sailor on the deck of the stranger told his story. She was the Spanish slaver *Leon,* with her entire crew and cargo stricken blind from ophthalmia. The *Rodeur* sheered away, leaving the other to her black misery.

¶

There were menaces and catastrophes at all times threatening the success of slave voyages and, in consequence, the insurance rates were high; in fact, the average was twenty pounds in the hundred. Insurance covered the loss resulting from jettisoning, or throwing overboard the cargo. There was no insurance against the loss of cargo through disease. This, of course, opened another method for bringing "the blessings of a gospel dispensation" to the "poor benighted heathen," for when a slaver found his cargo infected, he would throw overboard the stricken blacks, thus charging his loss to jettisoned cargo. In certain South American states, there were import duties exacted on each slave brought in, and those negroes rendered unsaleable through disease or other causes were often thrown overboard, alive, in the harbor,

thus saving the duty and enabling the slaver to collect insurance fraudulently.

It is indeed difficult to reconcile the records of this villainous trade with the long and stubborn resistance that was made to prevent its abolition. There are too many authoritative contemporary accounts of the barbarities and enormities of the traffic now extant to conclude that the proponents of the continuation of the trade were unaware of its iniquities. To the contrary, when frequently confronted with proof of its vicious character, the reformers were countered with the time-worn plea of protecting property rights. All the usual propaganda and rigamarole that is used to thwart a great social reform was employed, including the sanctimonious defense of a merchant-controlled church. "Missionaries on deck and rum in the hold" was a phrase often used in the eighteenth century to stigmatize a flagrant form of hypocrisy. Humanity progresses slowly. Custom and habit, particularly when profitable, are loath to be unseated, and surround themselves with an almost impregnable wall of taboos and sacred amulets. It took more than fifty years to abolish the slave trade (not slavery), more than a half century to make illegal the starving, mutilating, torturing, murdering or kidnapping of a black man; and another half century rigidly to enforce the new laws.

¶

After the Ashburton Treaty, the price of slaves in the States mounted rapidly; the inducement to smuggle them in was strong, and the venturesome took long chances in running the blockade of the African Coast. An idea of the enormous prices brought by slaves may be gleaned from news items of the times. This appeared in the Columbia (South Carolina) Banner on December 31, 1852:

"Sale of Negroes—the negroes belonging to the Saluda Manufacturing Company were sold yesterday for one-fourth cash, the balance in one and two years, with interest, and averaged $599. Boys from 16 to 25 brought $900 to $1000."

About the same time, there appeared in the Lancaster (South Carolina) Ledger, this item:

"High Price of Negroes—We attended the sale of negroes belonging to the estate of the late S. Beekman, on the 22nd of last month, and were somewhat astonished at the high prices paid for negroes. Negro men brought from $800 to $1000, the greater number at or near the latter price. One, (a blacksmith) brought $1425."

The Tarborough (North Carolina) Southerner informs us:

"The trading spirit is fully up. A few days since, Mr. D. W. Bullock sold to Messrs. Wm. Norfleet, Robert Norfleet, and John S. Dancy,

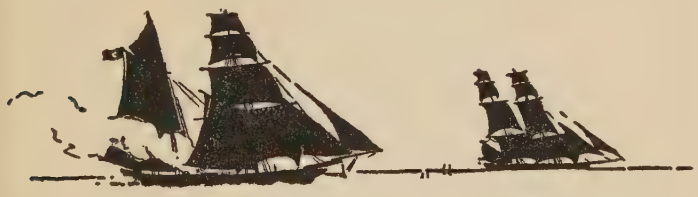
plantation and 18 negroes for $30,000. Mr. R. R. Bridges to Wm. F. Dancy, 6 acres near town for $600. At a sale in Wilson, we also understand, negro men with no extra qualifications sold as high as $1225."

And in the Charleston Courier: "At public auction on Thursday, Thomas Ryan & Son sold fifteen likely negroes for $10,365, or an average of $691. The boys, aged about seventeen, brought the following sums, viz, $1065, $1035, $1010, and two at $1000, making an average of $1022. Capers Heyward sold a gang of 109 negroes in families. Two or three families averaged from $1000 to $1100 for each individual; and the entire sale averaged $550. C. G. Whitney sold two likely female house servants—one at $1000, the other at $1190."

Quite naturally the smugglers did not get these top prices, but bootlegged negroes brought sufficiently high prices to make the venture most attractive.

Here was an opportunity for the unscrupulous and venturesome. For more than a century, the New Englanders had encouraged the daring voyages of slavers. During the European wars, privateersmen became one of the bulwarks of New England trade, and then there was always the need of keeping the rum distilleries in operation. As there had never been a sharp delineation between legitimate seafaring ventures and piracy, it was but a natural step to continue slave trading after the

piracy law was promulgated. With the lure of immense profits, the protection of guns, which the slavers were now of necessity forced to mount, and their unsurpassed skill in shipbuilding and seamanship, the New Englanders went wholeheartedly into the thrilling venture. There were boats that mounted as many as twenty guns. They were ready at all times for fight or flight and proved worthy antagonists for a man-of-war. But when



neither fight nor flight were possible there was still another means of cheating the hangman. The court ruled that if a slaver was captured it was necessary that there be actual slaves on the ship as legal proof of her nefarious character. As Abbot noted, "Her hold might reek with the odor of the imprisoned blacks, her decks show unmistakable signs of their recent presence, leg-irons and manacles might bear dumb testimony to the purpose of her voyage, informers in the crew might even betray the Captain's secret, but if the boarders from the man-of-war found no negroes on the ship, she went free."

And so it was with the slaver *Brillante* a few

days out from the African coast, caught in a dead calm with four cruisers hard by. No chance to fight, no chance to flee and 600 wretched niggers in the hold—damning evidence. Slowly the cruisers, sails hanging idly, drifted closer to the *Brillante*. The sun was sinking; there was a chance of escape in the darkness. It would not be easy to do away with six hundred men quickly. Throw them overboard! Some might swim to the cruisers —that would be sufficient evidence to hang. The Captain had a plan; ingenious as it was inhuman. He had his heaviest anchor swung in such a position that merely cutting a rope would drop it into the sea. The chain cable was stretched around the ship outside of the rail, held in place by short lengths of light rope, tied to unloosen by a strong pull.

Midnight came. The ocean was calm and flat; a spectral moon diffusing an eerie light thru low-hanging mist. All lamps were out, the men finding their way about and working by moonglow. Softly the slaves were brought on deck, eight to ten at a time. What new act of cruelty did this midnight summons portend? One by one, as quietly as possible, each negro was tied to the cable. A whispered curse, a thud, a groan, murmurs, mutterings, sobs and the rattle of the chain, were all that could be heard during the hour and a half it took to bait the trap. When they were all tied up along the rail, the captain made a round of inspec-

tion. Everything was ready. The signal was given, and the anchor was cut loose.

Across the water lay the four cruisers enveloped in moon-drenched mist, silence and the sickening stench of the slaver. Suddenly the air was rent with screams and shrieks. It lasted a moment, there was a low rumble, a long-drawn-out splash and then silence as before.

In the morning, a cutter from one of the cruisers pulled alongside the *Brillante*. Two officers and eight men climbed aboard. The Captain received them courteously, showed them around, even taking them into the stinking hold. At every turn, there was evidence of the blacks, but not one was found aboard. The cruiser officer commented upon the obvious signs of the recent cargo; the Captain of the *Brillante* smiled and said nothing.

¶

"There are tricks to every trade," so runs the old saw, and it is doubtful if ever there was a trade that could conjure such diabolical schemes as the now illicit slave traffic. A slaver fleeing from a man-of-war would throw over slaves, several at a time, in the hope that their pursuers, out of common humanity, would stop to rescue the drowning Negroes, thus enabling the slave ship to escape. In order that the Negroes might stay afloat until the pursuing ships caught up to them, the poor

devils were often supplied with empty casks or spars to cling to, and at times a whole boatload would be set adrift. This rule became so common that the man-of-war's men had to steel themselves to the task of letting the wailing, pleading Negroes go to their doom in order that they might continue their pursuit of the slave ships and strike at the root of the evil. Of consequence, service on slaver-pursuing warships was extremely distasteful to the men and officers.

Abbot writes, in American Merchant Ships and Sailors, "When a slaver was overhauled after so swift a chase that her master had no opportunity to get rid of his damning cargo, the boarding officers saw sights that scarce Inferno itself could equal. To look into her hold, filled with naked, writhing, screaming, struggling negroes, was a sight that one could see once and never forget. The effluvium that arose polluted even the fresh air of the ocean and burdened the breeze for miles to windward."

When a boarding officer reached the deck of a slaver, his first duty was to secure the officers of the craft with their papers. To circumvent this procedure, some slavers carried two Captains with two sets of papers, to be used according to the nationality of the warship that made the capture. Soon, however, the officers of all navies, cruising along the African coast, learned to detect the ruse.

After these formalities, the ship was properly

"A slaver fleeing from a man-of-war would throw over slaves, several at a time."

seized and the crew and officers put under guard. Then steps were immediately taken to alleviate the suffering of the cargo. "This was no easy task, for the overcrowded vessel could not be enlarged and its burden could in no way be decreased in mid-ocean. Even if near the coast of Africa, the Negroes could not be released by the simple process of landing them at the nearest point, for the land was filled with savage tribes, the captives were commonly from the interior and would merely have been murdered or sold anew into slavery, had they thus been abandoned." The custom grew to disembark the slaves at Liberia, the free Negro state, which was under the protection of the United States. This did not prove of much advantage to the slave, for he soon found Liberia inhospitable to him, and he was usually turned over to slave traders who camped on the Liberian borders awaiting just such a windfall. It was not long before the unfortunate Negro again found himself back in the hellish hold of a slave ship.

An officer who was put in charge of a captured slaver wrote: "They filled the waist and gangways in a fearful jam, for there were over 700 men, women, boys and young girls. Not even a waist-cloth can be permitted among slaves on board ship, since clothing even so slight would breed disease. To ward off death, ever at work on a slave ship, I ordered that at daylight the negroes should be taken in squads of twenty or more and given a salt-

water bath by the hose-pipe of the pump. This brought renewed life after their fearful night on the slave deck. No one who has never seen a slave deck can form an idea of its horror. Imagine a deck about 20 feet wide and perhaps 120 feet long and 5 feet high. Imagine this to be the place of abode and sleep, during long, hot, healthless nights, of 720 human beings! At sundown, when they were carried below, trained slaves received the poor wretches one by one, and laying each creature on his side in the wings, packed the next against him, and the next, and the next, and so on, till like so many spoons packed away, they fitted into each other, a living mass. Just as they were packed, so must they remain, for the pressure prevented any movement or the turning of hand or foot, until the next morning, when from their terrible night of horror they were brought on deck, once more, weak and worn and sick." And then after all were on deck, men were sent below to bring up the dead. They never came up empty-handed, for "the stench, the suffocation, the confinement, oftentimes the violence of a neighbor, brought to every dawn its tale of corpses, and with scant gentleness, all were brought up and thrown over the side to the waiting sharks."

Gradually, but none too quickly, the slave trade abated, but it was not until 1860, when Nathaniel Gordon, of Portland, Maine, was hung as a pirate, that the trade actually ceased to exist.

CHAPTER VIII

RUM IN THE TAVERN AND THE HOME

"Landlord, to thy bar room skip,
Make it a foaming mug of flip.
Make it of our country's staple,
Rum, New England sugar maple,
. . . . . .
Then pour more rum, the bottle stopping,
Stir it again and say it's topping."

—An old New England rhyme.

CHAPTER VIII

RUM IN THE TAVERN AND THE HOME

RUM, the evil currency of a sordid trade, entered the tavern and at once assumed an entirely different rôle. That which in commerce was used to enslave now became liberator, emancipator and fountain-head of inspiration, good-fellowship and good cheer. Here, in the colonial tavern, did rum promote "the flow of soul and the feast of reason"; for the taverns in the colonies were patterned after those in the motherland which Dr. Johnson said produced more happiness than anything yet contrived by man.

The taverns of old England played a most important part in the social history of the country, and the same may be said of the taverns in the American colonies. In England, from the time of Shakespeare to that of Addison and Johnson, they were the Rialtos whereon poets and wits exchanged their wares. In Shakespeare's time, Elizabethan literary genius was wont to honor the Sun and Moon Tavern in Aldersgate Street, the Devil's Tavern in Fleet Street, hard by Temple Bar, and that most famous of all taverns, the Mer-

maid, situated in Cornhill. It was there, Beaumont tells us, that

> "Hath been shown
> Wit able enough to justify the town
> For three days fast—wit that might warrant
> For the whole city to talk foolishly
> Till that were cancelled; and when that was gone,
> We left an air behind us, which alone
> Was able to make the two next companies
> Right within, though but downright fools, more wise."

Sir Walter Raleigh founded the celebrated club at the Mermaid, where, there is little doubt, met more talent and genius than ever before or since convened. There was Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne and many others, "whose names even at this distant period call up reverence and respect." What times they must have had! Wine and ale copiously consumed; laughter, wit and wisdom rampant! Beaumont sings:

> "What things have we seen
> Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
> So nimble, and so ful of subtle flame,
> As if that everyone from whom they came
> Had meant to put his whole wit in jest."

"The tavern life of old London," writes Hackwood, "opens a large field for the study of our national manners and customs; more than mere places of sojourn for travellers and traders, they became the rendezvous of politicians and publicans, the recognized meeting-places for much social intercourse, and especially for this pleasant form of sociability which is accompanied by friendly entertainment. How useful they were in the days when travelling was difficult and newspapers scarce, and all the means of intercommunication slow."

¶

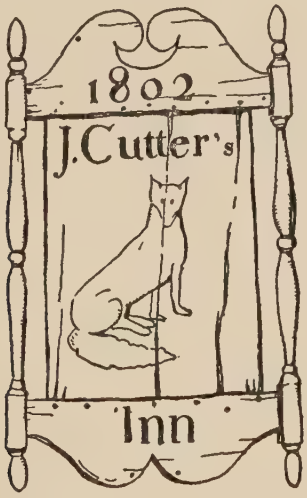
This was the patrimony of the colonial taverns, and they became the heart of the social and political life of the new world, although it is doubtful if the American tavern ever reached the Olympian heights of its English sire. The value of the tavern was recognized early in colonial history. It may startle some to be informed that the now-banished place of drink was considered as far back as 1651 to be of similar import as, and a corollary to, the meeting house. Frequently they were located together, and it was at times stipulated in the license that this was to be the case. John Vyall of Boston was granted in 1651 "Libertie to keep a house of common entertainment if the Countie Court Consent, provided he keeps it neere the new Meeting House." The reason for their proximity was

to afford, during the noon recess, a place of rest and refreshment to the people who had come from miles around to attend the service occasioned by fast days, lecture days and Sundays. Usually there was a long prayer and sermon in the morning, rest at noon, and in the afternoon more prayers and sermon. The tavern was a comfortable place in which to retire between sessions, particularly in winter when the hospitable fire of the "ordinary," as it was called, afforded the only warmth of the day, the meeting houses being without heat. The churches were so cold that the women frequently brought foot-stoves.

Perhaps it was the cold, or again it may have been the long, dry, devastating sermons, but for whatever reasons, it is sad to relate that the ordinaries were too well patronized between the morning and afternoon sermons. The restless cough of the morning gave way to the suspicious hiccough of the afternoon; we find the General Court of Plymouth Colony taking cognizance of the fact and in June 1662, forbidding the keepers of ordinaries from drawing any wine or liquor on the Sabbath, under penalty of ten shillings fine for each offense. In the case of the "faint and the sick," this order did not apply. Soon there was an epidemic of sickness and general weakness, which gradually subsided as the tavern keepers became bolder in ignoring the edict, which finally was disregarded altogether, so that in 1674 the

ministers found it necessary to have another similar law passed. Promulgating laws had already become an American remedy for the ills of society and the weaknesses of the flesh.

The taproom of the tavern was certainly a more cheerful and inviting gathering place than the



cold meeting house. Here, in place of the often long-faced, long-winded preacher in the pulpit, there sat behind a cage-like counter, mine host, the tavern keeper, "surrounded by cans and bottles and glasses, jars of whole spices and whole loaves of sugar; where an inspiring row of barrels of New England rum, hard cider and beer ranged in rivalry at the end of the room."

It was not an unusual occurrence to transform

a church into a tavern. The Great House at Charlestown, Massachusetts, which was the official residence of Governor Winthrop, became a meeting house in 1633, and later a tavern, called The Three Cranes. It was in the Great House that Governor Winthrop recorded in his diary his discountenance of health-drinking at the tables and in public places. "The Governor, upon consideration of the inconvenience which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like; so it grew, little by little, into disuse."

The ordinary was an important element in colonial life; as such it was subject to control and regulation and was not permitted to be operated unless licensed. In 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an ordinance making it compulsory for each community to sustain a public house of some kind; the penalty for being remiss was a fine. A similar law is found in Connecticut in 1644. Probably the main reasons for such laws were the need of inns to take care of travellers, but the taverns also served their respective localities as community centers.

Because of many and diverse restrictions under which taverns operated in the seventeenth century, the occupation of innkeeper was not popular, and great inducements had to be offered to persons to keep an ordinary. These were in the form of tax exemption or sometimes the granting of land or

pastures. Mrs. Earle mentions one Hugh March of Newbury, Massachusetts, who in 1682 petitioned for a renewal of his license to keep an ordinary, saying thus: "The town of Newbury, some years since, were destitute of an ordinary and could not persuade any person to keep it. For want of an ordinary they were twice fined by the county, and would have been a third time, had I not undertaken it."

Some of the restrictions that made the occupation unpopular were: the requirement of giving the names of all strangers to the Selectmen, who could, if they thought them undesirable or likely to become town wards, order them out of town; the provision that the innkeeper must not "knowingly harbor in house, barn, or stable, any rogues, vagabonds, thieves, sturdy beggars, masterless men or women"; and at various times the prohibition of "sack or strong waters." In addition, no games could be played, no dancing or singing, and even the selling of cakes and buns was regulated. At one time, the innkeeper was prohibited from brewing beer. From time to time the price and quality of beer were regulated by law and changed so frequently that the poor proprietor was dazed. The prices of meals were also prescribed by law. All of this, only a few years after the landing of the Pilgrims on their quest for freedom!

But that was not all; there was a night watch

instructed by the Boston magistrates to see that lights were out or hidden, particularly in the ordinaries. "If they see lights, to inquire if there be warrantable cause; and if they hear any noise or disorder, wisely to demand the reason; if they are dancing and singing vainly, to admonish them to cease; if they do not discontinue after moderate admonitions, then the constable to take their names and acquaint the authorities therewith. If they find young men and maidens, not of known fidelity, walking after ten o'clock modestly to demand the cause, and if they appear ill-minded, to watch them narrowly, command them to go to their lodgings, and if they refuse, then to secure them till morning." And so it was that our forefathers were also subject to close paternal restrictions in their private affairs and personal liberties, and as is to be expected, the restrictions were quite ineffective. It was necessary in 1645 for the Massachusetts General Court to forbid the ordinary keepers "to suffer anyone to be drunk or drink excessively, or continue tippling above the space of half an hour in any of their said houses, under penalty of 5s. for every such offence suffered; and every person found drunk in the said houses or elsewhere shall forfeit 10s.; and for every excessive drinking, he shall forfeit 3s. 4d.; for sitting idle and continuing drinking above half an hour, 2s. 6d.; and it is declared to be excessive drinking of wine when above half a pint of wine is allowed at one

time to one person to drink: provided that it shall be lawful for any strangers, or lodgers, or any person or persons, in an orderly way to continue in such houses of common entertainment during meal times or upon lawful business, what time their occasions shall require."

The punishment for drunkards was to be put into the bilboes, set in the stocks, and whipped. They were also at times made to wear a scarlet letter—not the famous A—but a red D, indicative of the nature of the offense. On September 3, 1633, we read in Boston:—

"Robert Coles was fyned ten shillings and enjoyned to stand with a white sheet of paper on his back, whereon Drunkard shalbe written in great lrs, and to stand therewith soe long as the Court find meet, for abusing himself shamefully with drinke."

This did not deter Mr. Coles from boozing, for a year later we read:

"Robert Coles for drunkenness by him committed at Rocksbury shalbe disfranchizd, weare about his neck, and so to hang upon his outwd garment a D made of redd Cloth & set upon white: to continyu this for a yeare, & not to have it off any time hee comes among company, under the penalty of XI s. for the first offence, and £5 for the second, and afterward to be punished by the Court

as they think meet; also hee is to wear the D outwards."

In some towns a public list of common drunkards was published and those appearing on the list were supposed to be deprived of the privilege of drinking at the ordinaries. There was also an officer appointed to spy on the drinking places to see that the multifarious laws and regulations were regarded. He was to complain to the constable of any disorders discovered and to warn the tavern keeper not to sell more liquor to any whom he believed to be indulging too freely. John Josselyn, an English visitor in Boston in 1663, who felt aggrieved at these obnoxious restrictions, wrote in his journal:

"At houses of entertainment into which a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, who would thrust himself into the company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion beyond which he could not get one drop."

Parson Danforth in Roxbury, who lived near the Greyhound Tavern, could see the tavern from his study window and when he saw his neighbors or strangers lingering too long within, he would leave his house and enter the tavern to "childe them away." England! 1663!—The jovial, free taverns

of Samuel Pepys—no wonder Josselyn chafed under American quasi-prohibition.

¶

Whereas conspicuous drunkenness was frequently punished, general drinking was an accepted social custom, excepting when from time to time local temperance laws were enacted and tippling for the nonce was carried on surreptitiously. Indeed, the consumption of rum and other alcoholic beverages became an integral part of the general internal affairs of the colonies. The first revenue to be relinquished by the West India Company to the town of New Amsterdam was the excise on wine, beer and spirits, and the sole condition made by Stuyvesant on its surrender was that the salaries of the Dominies should be paid from it. And here again, as well as in the close relationship of the tavern and meeting house, we find rum and other liquors linked with religion. In 1661-62, the burghers of Esopus paid a tax on liquor, the proceeds of which were used to build a parsonage for the minister. St. Philips Church in Charleston, South Carolina, was originally built by a tax of two pence per gallon on rum and other ardent spirits imported in 1670. Between 1743 and 1750, the public revenues of South Carolina were all raised by 3% duty on rum, spirits, wines, sugar, molasses, slaves and imported dry goods.

The proceeds amount to £4500, of which £1000 was devoted to paying salaries of ten ministers.

The dedication of St. Michael's Church at Charleston, South Carolina, was followed by a great dinner, at which a large amount of liquor was consumed. Peeke remarks that, under the circumstances, it could not be expected that the clergy would be much troubled with scruples on the use of liquor, and evidence is that they were not.

A great event for the tavern, as well as for the meeting house, was "Ordination Day." The custom on such occasions was to entertain the visiting ministers, who came to assist at the religious services. Such entertaining was done in the local tavern. "Often a specially good beer was brewed, called 'Ordination Beer,' and in Connecticut an 'Ordination Ball' was given at the tavern, this with the sanction of the parsons." The bills for entertaining the visitors, which have in many cases been preserved, serve admirably as a guide to the nature of these affairs. The following tavern bill was presented to the host of such a celebration in Hartford:

To keeping Ministers

	£	s.	d.
2 Mugs toddy		2	4
5 Segars		5	10
1 pint wine		3	9
3 Lodgings		9	
3 Bitters			9
3 Breakfasts		3	6
15 Boles Punch	1	10	

To keeping Ministers—*Continued*

	£	s.	d.
24 Dinners	1	16	
11 bottles wine		3	6
5 Mugs flip		5	10
5 Boles Punch		6	
3 Boles Toddy		3	6

[Endorsed on bill] "This is all paid except the Ministers Rum."

Another ordination bill, that of Rev. Joseph McKean, Beverly, Massachusetts, 1785, is a little more illuminating as to just when these liquors were consumed:

30 Boles of Punch before the People went to meeting.
10 bottles of wine before they went to meeting.
44 Bowles of Punch while at dinner.
18 bottles of wine.
8 Bowles of Brandy.
Cherry wine [quantity not mentioned].

The bill ends rather mildly with "6 people drank tea."

At the ordination of Edwin Jackson in Woburn in 1729, the town paid for six and one-half barrels of cider, twenty-five gallons of wine, two gallons of brandy and four gallons of rum.

Benjamin Franklin found rum to be useful in forwarding the interests of the clergy, and one can almost see his Voltairean smile when he wrote in his autobiography the following incident which took place when he was leading an army of five hundred men to defend the frontier against the French and Indians after the burning of the Moravian mission at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania:

"We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually serv'd out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observ'd they were as punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, 'It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only just after prayers, you would have them all about you.' He liked the tho't, undertook the office, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended; so that I thought this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service."

Rum not only was an important element in making the Ordination Ball a success, but had its place in many of the wedding customs. During the middle of the eighteenth century, odd ceremonies practised at English, Scotch and Irish nuptials survived in somewhat changed form in New England. At Londonderry, New Hampshire, after the formal publishing of the banns, the invitations were sent out. The wedding day was ushered in with a

jubilant volley of musketry at the respective homes of the bride and groom. Somewhat later in the day, the bridegroom, accompanied by a group of boisterous friends, set out for the bride's home. As they proceeded, they paused long enough in front of every house to fire a salute with pistols and guns, and to hear guns bark an answering greeting. Midway on the journey, the thundering bridal party was met by the male friends of the bride, and then occurred another frenzied outburst of cheering and gun fire. Each group selected a champion to "run for the bottle"—a direct survival of an old Scotch wedding sport. The two chosen New Hampshire champions ran at full speed, or mounting horses rode a race over the rough roads to the bride's house, where the winner was rewarded with a beribboned bottle of rum provided for the contest. With his prize nestling under his arm, he returned to the advancing wedding guests where he drank to the bride's health and then passed the bottle. The two parties, now joined, marched en masse to the bride's house, where an extra salute was fired, and the bridegroom, with his party, entered a room especially reserved for them. A little later, the ceremony was performed and was concluded with everyone kissing the bride, some more rattling of musketry, and with general and copious drinking of "good old New England rum."

Funerals were another occasion for passing the

rum bottle. In Londonderry and towns nearby that had been settled by Scotch-Irish planters, a death was an event in which the whole community participated. Upon the announcement of a neighbor's decease, the daily work throughout the vicinity ceased. Men and women flocked to the house of sorrow, where they took general charge, the women doing the household work and preparing the funeral feast, the men taking care that the house was well stocked with necessities, including food and rum for the impending function, which was held the night before the funeral.

"Much New England rum was consumed at this gathering," notes Mrs. Earle, "and also before the procession to the grave, and after the interment the whole party returned to the house for an 'arval' and drank again. The funeral rum-bill was often an embarrassing and hampering expense to a bereaved family for years." Arval was the provincial English word for funeral feast or wake. The generous consumption of a rum libation at funerals was not confined to these New Hampshire towns, but was prevalent throughout the colonies until the early part of the nineteenth century. Throughout New England, bills for these funeral feasts were heavy in their items of rum, cider, whiskey, lemons, sugar and spices. A typical funeral liquor bill was one for the late David Porter, of Hartford, who was drowned in 1678:

"By a pint of liquor for those who dived for him 1s.
By a quart of liquor for those who bro't him home 2s.
By two quarts of wine & 1 gallon of cyder to jury of inquest 5s.
By 8 gallons & 3 qts.. wine for funeral £1 15s.
By Barrel cyder for funeral 16s.
1 Coffin 12s.
Winding Sheet 18s."

So important was drink at a funeral that towns were wont to supply a few gallons of rum or a barrel of cider for the funerals of paupers. Hawthorne, commenting on these jovial funeral customs, wrote: "Well, old friends! Pass on with your burden of mortality and lay it in the tomb with jolly hearts. People should be permitted to enjoy themselves in their own fashion; every man to his taste—but New England must have been a dismal abode for the man of pleasure when the only boon-companion was death." And Mrs. Earle adds that "it was a hard struggle against established customs and ideas of hospitality, and even of health, when the use of liquor at funerals was abolished. Old people sadly deplored the present and regretted the past. One worthy old gentleman said, with much bitterness, 'Temperance has done for funerals.'"

¶

Most of the strong drinks of the eighteenth century were combinations containing rum, although

some few were made minus this American spirit. Many of the drinks appear strange and unappealing to us today, even when compared with our current concoctions of chemical intoxicants.

There was then a drink called black-strap, the composition of which Josiah Quincy said that he fervently hoped reposed with the lost arts. It was basically a combination of rum and molasses, with other ingredients whose identities, excepting for vinegar, have apparently followed the hope of Quincy. He said: "Of all the detestable American drinks on which our inventive genius has exercised itself, this black-strap was truly the most outrageous." Josiah should have lived to become acquainted with "our inventive genius" during the Volstead Epoch.

Casks of black-strap stood in every country store and tavern, and usually there hung alongside a salted codfish, craftily displayed to tempt by thirst additional purchasers of the beverage. Today the term black-strap is still in use, but now signifies the lowest grade of molasses, the final by-product of the sugar mill or sugar refinery, and is used principally for distilling rum (in the West Indies) and industrial alcohol, and as a cattle, horse, hog and dairy feed.

Mrs. Earle quotes an old parody, which would indicate a greater measure of respect for black-strap on the part of some colonials than had Josiah Quincy:

"I knew by the pole that's so gracefully
crown'd
Beyond the old church, that a tavern
was near,
And I said if there's black-strap on earth
to be found,
A man who had credit might hope for
it here."

And then there was grog, a name for a mixture of rum and water, still in use today. The name was coined by British sailors, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Until the time of Admiral Edward Vernon, British sailors had always had their allowance of rum served to them "neat," but when the hero of Portobello was in command of the fleet, he ordered the rations of rum to be issued to the men mixed with water—an innovation which at first gave great offense to the sailors; and as the admiral was in the habit of walking the deck in a grogram cloak (coarse material of silk and mohair) whenever the weather was rough, they nicknamed him "Old Grog," and then called the watered rum "Grog" as well.

Toddy was a favorite colonial drink, compounded of rum, hot water and sugar. The word is a corruption of tandi, the East Indian name for the saccharine juice of palm spathes. Now and then, collectors of early American tavern relics find an old toddy stick, "beloved for the welcome

ringing music it made on the sides of glass tumblers," which was used to stir up the toddy. The toddy stick was six or eight inches long, with either a knob on one end or flattened out at the end, so that it would easily crush the loaf sugar then used in drinks.

The most popular of the rum drinks, and perhaps the most dearly beloved of all the Colonial libations, was flip. Flip, as drunk in England, was quite different and inferior to the famous American beverage of that name, which was "a truly American drink." The latter was made in a great pewter mug or earthen pitcher filled two-thirds full of strong beer and sweetened with sugar, molasses, or dried pumpkin, according to taste. To this was added a gill or more of New England rum. Into this mixture was thrust a red-hot loggerhead which was used to stir it. The loggerhead was made of iron and shaped like a poker, and when this sizzling device came into contact with the beer and rum, the liquor foamed, bubbled and collared and took on a burnt, bitter taste which was particularly relished. Mrs. Earle, writing of flip, tells us that "a famous tavern host of Canton, Massachusetts, had a special fancy in flip. He mixed together a pint of cream, four eggs, and four pounds of sugar, and kept this on hand. When a mug of flip was called for, he filled a quart mug two-thirds full of bitter beer, added four great spoonsful of his creamy compound, a gill of rum

and thrust in the loggerhead. If a fresh egg were beaten into the mixture, the froth poured over the top of the mug, and the drink was called a 'bellows-top.'"

Flip was usually served in great glass tumblers without handles, some holding three or four quarts apiece. An old Colonial recipe for flip reads as follows:

"Keep grated Ginger and Nutmeg with a fine dried Lemon Peel rubbed together in Mortar. To make a quart of Flip: Put the Ale on the Fire to warm, and beat up three or four Eggs with four ounces of moist Sugar, a teaspoonful of grated Nutmeg or Ginger, and a Quartern of good old Rum or Brandy. When the Ale is near to boil, put it into one pitcher and the Rum and Eggs, etc., into another; turn it from one Pitcher to another till it is as smooth as cream. To heat, plunge in the red hot Loggerhead or Poker. This quantity is styled One Yard of Flannel."

The loggerhead had other names: flip-dog and hottler; but loggerhead was its most common cognomen and indeed it introduced a new phrase into the English language, for in the not infrequent tavern-brawls, the loggerheads which rested against the chimney-piece were quickly seized and served as useful and potent weapons; this gave rise to the term "at loggerheads."

"The loggerhead was as much a part of the chimney furniture of an old-time New England

tavern and farm-house as the bellows or andirons. In all taverns and many hospitable homes it was constantly kept warm in the ashes, ready for speedy heating in a bed of hot coals, to burn a mug of fresh flip for every visitor or passerby."

In old tales of the sea, reference is sometimes made to a sailors' drink called "Switchel," which is a combination of molasses and water with a little vinegar and rum added to give it a "kick." Other strange names to be met with are "Ahcoobee" or "Ockuby" which were Indian (Norridgewock language) for rum. John Eliot usually spelled that same drink "rumb" and others referred to it as Barbados liquor or rumbooze. And while we are thus ruminating over strange names given to even stranger rum drinks, we must not neglect Calibogus or bogus, a combination of cold rum and beer which has little appeal to the modern ear or palate; nor that beverage with the atrocious name, "whistle-belly-vengeance," a ghastly concoction of sour beer slowly cooked in a kettle, sweetened with molasses, filled with brown-bread crumbs and drunk while hot! More pleasant to think of and still agreeable to drink was Stone-wall, a mixture of cider and rum.

Punch was a colonial drink which ranked in popularity with flip. It came to the English colonies in America from the English colonies in India. It was of oriental origin, the name originally being the Hindustani "panch", meaning five,

1 Flip Glass and Toddy Stick
2 Flip Glass
3 Pewter mug
4 Porcelain Monteith
5 Loggerhead
6 Whiskey Flask
7 Rum Bottle
8 Rum Bottle

Drinking Paraphernalia of the Colonial Tavern.

and referring to the five ingredients then used: tea, arrack (distilled date juice or palm juice), sugar, lemons and water. The New Englanders substituted rum for the arrack, and varied the other ingredients also. Punch bowls of the period are a delight to collectors, and many varieties have been preserved. One in particular was called a Monteith, and came into fashion about 1697. The rim was scalloped to facilitate the carrying of the punch ladle, lemon strainer and tall wine glasses which were hung about the bowl. It was usually separated from the bowl, and was lifted off with the mixing and drinking paraphernalia when the punch was to be brewed, after which the ornamental rim was replaced. The bowls were made of silver or porcelain. The punch bowl soon became an article of general utility among the upper classes. Dinners were begun by passing the bowl of punch from hand to hand, and often the liquor was drunk directly from it. In the taverns, "double" and "thribble" bowls of punch were served, holding two and three quarts each. Punch was popular not only in New England, but it was also a favorite drink in the middle and southern colonies.

William Black recorded in his diary in 1744 that in Philadelphia he was given "cider and punch for lunch; rum and brandy for dinner; punch, Madeira, port and sherry at dinner: punch and liquers with the ladies; and wine, spirit, and

punch till bedtime; all in punch bowls big enough for a goose to swim in."

There were many different kinds of punch, and as much pride was taken then in the invention of new and fanciful recipes as is today in discovering new formulae for gin and cocktails. Even then, as now, drinks were named for persons and places, taverns and hosts, for bartenders and stagecoach drivers, and for unusual ingredients or romantic incidents. "Sometimes honor was conferred by naming the punch for the person," and, Mrs. Earle succinctly adds, "sometimes the punch was the only honor the original ever had." She relates the following story regarding the proportions of the two important ingredients, the substance of which was no doubt understood by the old punch brewers: an old Irish ecclesiastic of high office was watching his host mix the punch, and interrupted the process with, "Shtop! Shtop! ye are not commencin' right and in due ordher! Ye musthn't iver put your whisky or rum foorst in your punch-bowl and thin add wather; for if ye do, ivery dhrop of wather ye put in is just cruel spoilin' of the punch; but—foorst—put some wather in the bowl —some, I say, since in conscience ye must—thin pour in the rum; and sure ye can aisily parcaive that ivery dhrop ye put in is afther makin' the punch betther and betther."

Molasses was not always distilled into rum before it was thought fit to be used as a beverage,

although an old temperance advocate did say, "Ah, if people would only take their rum latent in its molasses, and pour out their undistilled toddies on their buckwheat cakes!" The shrewd, pious and canny Puritans discovered soon after settling in America that molasses served as a cheap substitute for malt in brewing beer, and it became necessary in order to maintain the quality of beer, to make laws controlling the manufacture of both that beverage and ale. It was, I believe, the first pure food law to be enacted in this country.

Unfermented molasses was used as a sweetening, and as such was often preferred to sugar. Molasses was termed "long sweetening," and sugar "short sweetening." The terms are current in parts of New York State, and in the backwoods of Maine, where large quantities of molasses are still used for that purpose. Molasses was always a necessary part of ships' stores, and few ladings of old do not mention it. Even as recently as 1834, Dana, in his masterpiece of the sea, Two Years Before the Mast, wrote of his life as a sailor: "The only time when we could be said to take pleasure was at night and morning, when we were allowed a tin pot full of hot tea (or as the sailors significantly called it, 'water bewitched') sweetened with molasses." In his diary in the same book, we find the entry: "Thursday, Dec. 25th. [1834]. This day was Christmas, but it brought us no holiday. The only change was that we had a 'plum duff' for

dinner and the crew quarreled with the steward because he did not give us our usual allowance of molasses to eat with it. He thought the plums would be a substitute for the molasses, but we were not to be cheated out of our rights this way."

One can but wonder, in reviewing the idiosyncrasies of men's petty appetites, why they should have played, and still do play, such an important part in history, but that this is the case every testimony concurs to prove; and Robert Burns, allowing such thoughts to filter through his mind of genius, evolved the following lines:

"Sages their solemn een may steek,
An' raise a philosophic reek,
An' physically causes seek,
In clime an' season;
But tell me whisky's name in Greek,
I'll tell the reason."

CHAPTER IX

RUM AND COLONIAL IMMORALITY

"The lads an' lasses, blythely bent
To mind baith saul an' body,
Sit round the table, weel content,
An' steer about the toddy:
On this ane's dress, an' that ane's leuk,
They're makin' observations;
While some are cozie i' the neuk,
An' forming assignations
To meet some day."

—Robert Burns.

CHAPTER IX

RUM AND COLONIAL IMMORALITY

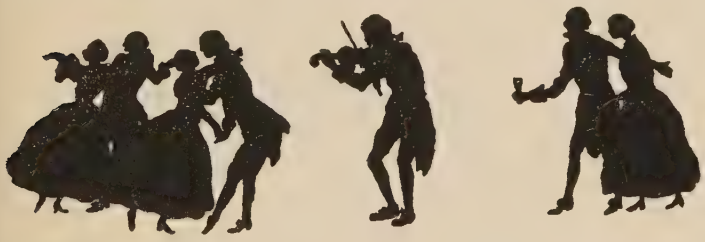
IT is difficult when writing on the subject of rum not to touch upon its relationship to the general sexual morality of the time. There is some evidence to show that young women of the middle and better classes frequented the taverns in the eighteenth century in much the same manner as they are now to be found frolicking in night-clubs, roadhouses and restaurants. As Usher noted in his History of the Town of Medford, "Taverns seemed to subserve all purposes. Auctions, theatricals, legerdemain, caucuses, military drills, balls and dancing schools; all came in place in the tavern." Especially sleigh-riding parties found them convenient. Medford was just far enough from Boston to tempt a party for a ride on a pleasant moonlight evening. Scarcely one such evening passed without witnessing a gathering of young people, who brought with them their fiddle, or engaged the services of Greenough, a noted colored fiddler of Medford, danced from seven to ten, and then took a hearty supper and reached Boston at twelve.

In Pennsylvania, we find a similar evidence of

the use of taverns by both youths and girls. William Priest writes in a letter dated Philadelphia, March 18, 1794. "The chief amusement of the country girls in winter is sleighing, of which they are passionately fond, as indeed are the whole sex in this country. I never heard a woman speak of this diversion but with rapture." . . . "Every moment that will admit of sleighing is seized on with avidity. The tavern and innkeeper are up all night, and the whole country is in motion. When the snow begins to fall, our planters' daughters provide hot sand, which at night they place in bags at the bottom of the sleigh. Their sweethearts attend with a couple of horses, and away they glide with astonishing velocity, visiting their friends for many miles round the country. But in large towns, in order to have a sleighing frolic in *style,* it is necessary to provide a fiddler, who is placed at the head of the sleigh and plays all the way. At every inn they meet on the road, the company alight and have a dance."

And how we would like to go along! Away with your high-powered motor car! Away with your noisy jazz and roadhouses! An effulgent moon, crisp, crunchy, silver snow, swift trotting horses, two iron runners streaking the white crust; the fiddler with his dancing bow causing the night to vibrate now with a rollicking dance, now with a soft refrain; the boisterous night wind mocking us as it rushes by and snatches a kiss from the girl

by your side. Gaunt ghosts that were houses and barns by day slip swiftly and noiselessly behind. Two lights ahead,—bright lights—nearer—the dark bulk of the tavern looms with its snow-decked roof faintly bright in the moonglow. The sign-board creaks as it sways in the wind. "Whoa—horses," and with a crunching slide we stop at "Rose Inn", the famous Red Rose of Nazareth.



Out of the sleigh we tumble, girls and youths, fiddle and fiddler; into the taproom

> "Where dozed a fire of beechen logs that bred
> Strange fancies in its embers golden-red,
> And nursed the loggerhead, whose hissing drip,
> Times by nice instinct, creamd the bowl of flip."

Madeira for the girls, flip and toddy for the boys. The fiddler fiddles and we dance. Warmed by wine and rum, roused by the rhythmic music we dance that "impudent and lascivious" step called "setting to partners," which, as described by a worthy matron of the time, "is the very reverse

of back to back", and who further remarked that she had seen an impudent young dog, after having made two or three capers, run to his partner, lock his arms in hers, and whisk her around in such a manner that "I, who sat upon one of the lowest benches, saw farther above her shoe than I can think fit to aquaint you with."

¶

These diversions were innocent enough in themselves, but we must consider them in the light of other customs prevalent at the time. I refer in particular to the practice known as "bundling." Charles Francis Adams considered that the practice grew out of the social and industrial conditions of a primitive people, of simple, coarse manners and small means. Often it was the case of two young people who intended to marry. They lived far apart, had little means and worked all week. It was necessary to confine their meetings to Saturday evenings and Sunday. At dusk on Saturday, the youth would arrive at the home of the girl and would not leave until some time Sunday. It would hardly do for the courting to proceed in the parlor with the girl's parents and possibly brothers and sisters as onlookers. The houses were small, and all the spaces were occupied; so it was necessary to find some means and place for entertaining the young man and for keeping him over night. And

besides, the economical New Englanders did not care to burn unnecessary candles or fuel. Thus it came to pass that the young swain would slip into his sweetheart's bed (clothed, if he be a conventional bundler) and there under the warm blankets in the darkened room they could talk without fear of interruption and with that sense of well-being that comes only when one keeps warm without the expense of fire wood. Such was the old-fashioned custom of bundling in which our forbears indulged.

Mr. Adams, in considering this phase of New England life, wrote, "It goes without saying that, however it originated, such a custom, if recognized and continued, must degenerate into something coarse and unmoral. The inevitable would follow. The only good and redeeming feature about it was the utter absence of concealment and secrecy. All was open and recognized. The very bundling was done by the hands of mothers and sisters." There were, on the other hand, many apologists for the custom of bundling who considered it, or claimed to consider it, an innocent means of comfortable social intercourse. The Rev. Andrew Barnaby, who wrote of his travels in New England in 1759-60, noticed the custom and commented upon it, saying that though it may at first "appear to be the effects of grossness of character, it will upon deeper research, be found to proceed from simplicity and innocence." A most generous thought, which,

however, is not borne out by certain statistics with which I will acquaint the reader later.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, in his General History of Connecticut, 1781, writes at some length on the subject of bundling, saying, "Notwithstanding the great modesty of the females is such, that it would be accounted a great rudness for a gentleman to speak before a lady of a garter or a leg, yet it is thought but a piece of civility to ask her to bundle."

There is some evidence to show that whatever may have been the social and economic necessities for bundling, it was regarded by the participants in the light of the modern "necking." In Knickerbocker's History of New York, we note that Van Corlear would occasionally stop in the village to eat pumpkin pies, to dance at some country frolic, and to bundle with the Yankee lassies.

Dr. H. R. Stiles, who, in the middle of the last century, wrote a book on the subject of bundling, had his doubts of the innocence of the practice. He wrote, "Saturday or Sunday nights are the principal times when this courtship takes place; and on these nights the men sometimes walk from a distance of ten miles or more to visit their favorite damsels. This strange custom seems to be originated in the scarcity of fuel, and in the unpleasantness of sitting together in the colder part of the year without a fire. Much has been said of the innocence with which these meetings are conducted; but it is a very common thing for the

consequence of the interview to make its appearance in the world within two or three months after the marriage ceremony has taken place."

¶

Whenever we want sincere, salient and sophisticated commentaries on eighteenth century American habits and customs, we need but turn to the writings of Benjamin Franklin. His discerning mind, like a plow-share, penetrated the topsoil of respectability, and his wit, like the moldboard, turned it over and exposed the common subsoil. In Poor Richard's Almanac for 1744, he wrote this pithy verse, having in mind no doubt the prevalent custom of bundling:

"Biblis does solitude admire,
A wondrous Lover of the Dark:
Each night puts out her Chamber Fire,
And just keeps in *a single Spark;*
'Till four she keeps herself alive,
Warmed by her piety, no doubt;
Then tired with kneeling, just at five
She sighs—and lets that Spark go *out.*"

Another satrical verse of the time is quoted by Woodward:

"Since in a bed a man and maid,
May bundle and be chaste,
It does no good to burn out wood,

It is a needless waste.
Let coats and gowns be laid aside,
And breeches take their flight,
An honest man and woman can
Lay quiet all the night."

More seriously inclined was the author of the following poem who admonishes severely the devotees of that form of indoor sport:

"Hail, giddy youth, inclined to mirth,
To guilty amours prone,
Come blush with me, to think and see
How shameless you are grown.

. . . .

Dogs and bitches wear no breeches,
Clothing for man was made,
Yet men and women strip to their linen,
And tumble into bed.

Yes, brutal youth, it is the truth,
Your modesty is gone,
And could you blush, you'd think as much,
And curse what you have done."

It was customary during the early part of the eighteenth century to make a confession publicly in the Meeting House of any pre-marital sexual relations between husband and wife. Dr. Stiles' quotation does in no wise exaggerate the results from bundling, for such items as follow were en-

tered regularly and frequently into the records of the Braintree Church:

"January 21, 1728. Joseph P. and Lydia his wife, made a confession before the Church which was well accepted for the sin of Fornication committed with each other before marriage."

"November 17, 1728. Mehetabel the wife of John B— Junr. made a confession before the Church and Congregation for the sin of fornication, which was well accepted."

"September 28, 1729. Elizabeth M— made a confession before the whole congregation for the sin of fornication which was accepted by the Church."

There are long lists of these public confessions. In Groton, Connecticut, the records of the church show that out of two hundred persons owning baptismal covenant in that church during the fourteen years between 1761 and 1775, sixty-six confessed to fornication before marriage.

In 1765, the church at Braintree voted that out of "Christian Charity" they would baptize children born seven months after marriage "without being questioned as to their honesty." This no doubt made bundling safer.

Poor Richard, though recognizing the prevalence of incontinence among the young people of the period, could not treat the subject as seriously as did the church elders. He is credited with having written that famous speech of Miss Polly Baker, supposed to have been delivered by the de-

fendant, before a court of judicature in Connecticut wherein she was prosecuted the fifth time for having bastard children. One does not suspect the hoax in this naive and delightful burlesque until the end, whereat we read the following note: "This judicious address influenced the court to dispence with her punishment, and induced one of her judges to marry her the next day. She ever afterwards supported an irreproachable character, and had fifteen children by her husband."

He dwells on the same subject again in a verse that appeared in the Almanac:

"When Robin now three days had married been,
And all his friends and neighbours gave him joy,
This question to his wife he asked then,
Why till her marriage day she proved so coy?
Indeed, said he, 'twas well thou didst not yield,
For doubtless then my purpose was to leave thee:
O, Sir, I once before was so beguil'd,
And was resolved the next should not deceive me."

John Adams repeatedly associates taverns and rum with immoderate and illicit venery, writing on one occasion of the tavern as a place where

bastards were "frequently begotten." Charles Francis Adams, his great-grandson, who was perhaps the first historian to write seriously and honestly on the subject of colonial morals, links the two subjects together in one of his books under the heading of intemperance and immorality.

One notes with interest some of the reasons to which the lewdness in colonial times was assigned. After the French and Indian War, it was laid, by a contemporary critic, to that conflict, and after the Revolution a similar cause had been found. The Great War, of course, is blamed by many for our present sojourn along the primrose path.

Excessive drinking was no doubt linked up closely to the easy virtue of the time, but was more of a companion vice than a cause. In 1642, Governor William Bradford coupled them together when he lamented over the "notorious sins, espetially drunkenness and unclainnes," but finds an explanation in the reflection that "it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streames are stopped or dammed up; when they gett passage they flow with more violence, and make more noys and disturbance, than when they are suffered to rune quietly in theire owne channels. So wikedness being here more stopped by strict laws, and the same more nerely looked unto, so as it cannot rune in a commone road of liberty as it would, and is inclined, it seerches every wher, and at last breaks out wher it getts vente." He then continues

with his reason for the apparent looseness of seventeenth century Massachusetts:

"Heer (as I am verily perswaded) is not more evills in this kind, nor nothing nere so many by proportion as in other places; but they are here more discovered and seen, and made publick by due serch, inquisition, and due punishment; for the churches looke narrowly to their members, and the magistrates over all, more strictly than in other places. Besides, here the people are but few in comparison of other places, which are full and populous and lye hid, as it were, in a wood or thicket and many horrible evills by that meens are never seen nor knowne; whereas heer, they are, as it were, brought into the light, and set in the plaine feeld, or rather on a hill, made conspicuous to the veiw of all."

There is no doubt much to be said in favor of Bradford's explanation, but there is another important factor to be considered. History indicates that human nature has never changed to any great extent, and we may assume that the passions of men in colonial days did not differ from those of today; yet, New England was notable for the absence of prostitutes. Boston, it is true, due to the many ships that visited the port, had a certain number of professional women, but the smaller towns would not tolerate them. Tar and feathers were not unknown, and were used from time to time upon the persons of the few venturesome *filles de*

joie. Without this ancient recourse, men did not of a sudden become pure and continent.

In the country, rum was an important stimulant to assist in the various routine operations on the farm and its partaking during such events as hog-killing and corn-husking assumed the proportions of a jollification. The morals of the country and farm are well known. They have been the same at all times and places, and the proverbial needle is not all that has been lost in a haystack. The harvest festivals were an occasion for all the lads and lassies the countryside around to meet and join in the celebration. In Dedham, Massachusetts, a local diarist, who apparently knew he was writing for posterity, left us this bit of description dated October 14, 1767:

"Made an husking Entertainm't. Possibly this leafe may last a Century and fall into the hands of some inquisitive Person for whose Entertainm't I will inform him that now there is a Custom amongst us of making an Entertainment at husking of Indian Corn whereto all the neighboring Swains are invited and after the Corn is finished, they like the Hottentotts give three Cheers or huzza's but cannot carry in the husks without a Rhum bottle; they feign great Exertion but do nothing till Rhum enlivens them, when all is done in a trice, then after a hearty Meal about 10 at Night, they go to their pastimes."

¶

Could there be a more suitable time and place for an "inquisitive person" to take leave of his forefathers than about 10 at night, when they go to their "pastimes"; and to leave them there in their well-earned relaxation with the hope that they be not disturbed nor hindered by the fabulous traditions of super-humanity and unbelievable virtues that their patriotic press agents have prepared for them?

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

"The surprising power of very trivial causes."
—ROUSSEAU.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

IN writing the preceding chapters, I have had no desire to set down all the multifarious facts and incidents that might have easily and naturally fitted within the scope of the subject. It has been my purpose to present such data relative to the colonial rum trade and rum-drinking habits that the reader may weigh for himself the varied and complex effects which these incidents and circumstances had upon American history, and perhaps gain a different conception of the spirit and meaning of many of our cherished though time worn and moth-eaten patriotic platitudes.

There is a growing tendency in America to exhume some of our national idols and ideals, and perform upon them a belated autopsy for the purpose of finding out what they really were made of. For some reason, we have begun to suspect the correctness of certain of our flapdoodle and Yankee doodle traditions.

The late war may have had something to do with this, for then the discerning were permitted to see history in the making, and to watch it pass through the slogan and propaganda mills, and

emerge in the form of holy scrolls tied up with red, white and blue ribbons, bearing the seal of the censor. Notwithstanding Edmund Burke's dictum that, "Seldom have two ages the same fashion in their pretexts and the same modes of mischief," there is a similar ring to "Make the world safe for democracy" and "No taxation without representation"; and "the war to end war" was every bit as good as "liberty or death".

But when we boil it all down, we do not sneer at slogans, propaganda and platitudes. They have their place in the science which we call history, but they must be evaluated with unemotional and sober judgment. Burke wrote that "History consists, for the greater part, of the miseries brought upon the world by pride, ambition, avarice, revenge, lust, sedition, hypocrisy, ungoverned zeal, and all the train of disorderly appetites, which shake the public with the same

> 'troublous storms that toss
> The private State and render life unsweet.'

These vices are the causes of those storms. Religion, morals, laws, prerogatives, privileges, are always found in some specious appearance of a real good."

It is not strange then that we should find so much history corked up in a bottle of rum; for are not all these vices hidden in the same vessel! Rum was a symbol as well as a fact, and again to quote

Weeden, we are impressed by its "immense prevalence and moving power."

The study of the Rum Epoch presents to us many conditions which parallel our current problems. There was the Molasses Act, which could not be enforced because of the lack of popular support, and because of the immense profits to be had by violating it and the consequent corruption of public officials. It was ignored, unenforced, and finally repealed. There was the long struggle to end the slave trade, which was not eradicated by prohibition, nor even by the death penalty, but only ceased when the Civil War brought an end to slavery, and consequently an end to the demand for and the profit in slaves.

Men of all nations and ages have habitually acted with great uniformity under similar conditions, and human nature has not basically changed. "The same motives," as Hume wrote, "always produce the same actions: the same events follow from the same causes." It therefore behooves us to study carefully the actions and events of the past, so that we may perceive the causes, and to study causes so that we may understand actions and events, and then with broader vision and greater wisdom meet our current problems. To accomplish this purpose, we must turn upon history and tradition the effulgent and cleansing beam of truth. We must not expect to find men of old differing greatly from men of our own times, and

if we do—if we find only virtue, morality and good intentions—we may be assured that the tale has been tempered in the telling. Hume, commenting on this tendency, wrote, "Should a traveller, returning from a far country, bring us an account of men, wholly different from any with whom we were ever acquainted; men who were entirely divested of avarice, ambition or revenge; who knew no pleasure but friendship, generosity, and public spirit; we should immediately, from these circumstances, detect the falsehood and prove him a liar with the same certainty as if he had stuffed his narration with stories of centaur and dragons, miracles and prodigies."

The Rum Epoch was but a manifestation of erring humanity, and, though we still make similar mistakes, it is encouraging to realize that we are slowly shaking ourselves free from our smug self-satisfied past.

END

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books Used As Reference

CHAPTER I. RUM IN THE COLONIES

ADAMS, Charles Francis
Three Episodes of Massachusetts History. Boston and New York, 1893.

ADAMS, John
The Works of John Adams (10 vols.), edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Boston, 1856.

AMERICAN MUSEUM, THE
or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, etc. Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1787.

CHASTELLUX, Francois-Jean de
Travels in North America in 1780-81-82. New York, 1828.
Documentary History of New York, edited by E. B. O'Callahan, M. D. 4 Vols. Albany, 1850.

EARLE, Alice Morse
Customs and Fashions in Old New England. New York, 1893-1902.

EARLE, Alice Morse
Stage Coach and Tavern Days. New York, 1900-1901-1924.

FRANKLIN, Benjamin
Autobiography.

GALES AND SEATON
Debates in Congress. Vol. I.

JOSSELYN, John
An Account of Two Voyages to New England Made During the Years 1638-1663. Boston, 1895.
KROUT, John Allen
The Origins of Prohibition. New York, 1925.
MASSACHUSETTS COLONIAL DOCUMENTS
Vol. III.
PEEKE, Hewson L.
Americana Ebrietatis, The Favorite Tipple of our Forefathers and the Laws and Customs Relating Thereto. Privately printed, 1917.
TAUSSIG, Charles William
Rum and the Spirit of '76. McNaught's Magazine, April, 1927.
TENISON, Tho.
Twenty Seven Philosophical Letters upon Several Occasions. London, 1684.
WEEDEN, W. B.
Early Rhode Island, A Social History of the People. New York, 1910.
WEEDEN, W. B.
Economic and Social History of New England. 2 Vols. Boston and New York, 1890 .
WOOLMAN, John
The Journal of John Woolman.

CHAPTER II. ECONOMICS OF THE RUM TRADE

A SHORT ANSWER TO AN ELABORATE PAMPHLET,
Entitled, The Importance of the Sugar Plantations. London, 1731.
ADAMS, John
The Works of John Adams, edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. 10 Vols. Boston, 1856.

ASHLEY, John
Some Observations on a Direct Exportation of Sugar from the British Islands. 1735.

BEER, G. L.
British Colonial Policy. 1907.

BENEZET, Anthony
A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies. Philadelphia, 1767.

BERNARD, Sir F.
Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America. 1764

EDWARDS, Bryan
History of the British West Indies. 3 Vols. 1793.

FISHER, Sydney G.
The Struggle for American Independence. 2 Vols. 1908.

GRAY, H.
Writs of Assistance, in Quincy's Massachusetts Bay Reports. 1865

LUGENBEEL, Dr.
Sketches of Liberia. 1853.

MCCLELLAN, William S.
Smuggling at the Outbreak of the Revolution With Special Reference to the West Indies Trade. New York, 1912.

MACPHERSON, D.
Annals of Commerce. 1805.

MAYER, Brantz
Capt. Canot, or Twenty Years of an African Slaver. New York, 1854.

MINOT, G. R.
Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1795-1803.

OTIS, James
The Rights of the British Colonists Asserted and Proved. 1764.

PITKIN, Timothy
A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America. New York, 1817.
SMITH, Adam
Wealth of Nations. 1776.
WEEDEN, W. B.
Economic and Social History of New England. 2 Vols. New York and Boston, 1890.
WILSON, Woodrow
History of the American People. 10 Vols. New York, 1918.
WOOLMAN, John
The Journal of John Woolman.

CHAPTER III. RUM, THE SPIRIT OF '76

ADAMS, Charles Francis
Three Episodes of Massachusetts History. Boston and New York, 1873.
ADAMS, John
The Works of John Adams (10 Vols.), edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Boston, 1856.
EARLE, Alice Morse
Stage Coach and Tavern Days. New York, 1900-01-1924.
EARLE, Alice Morse
Customs and Fashions in Old New England. New York, 1893-1902.
FIELD, Edward
The Colonial Tavern. Providence, 1897.
FISHER, Sydney G.
Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times. Philadelphia, 1898.
MCCLELLAN, William S.
Smuggling at the Outbreak of the Revolution. With Special Reference to the West Indies Trade. New York, 1912.

MINOT, G. R.
Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1798-1803.
MUNRO, Wilfred Harold
Tales of An Old Sea Port. Princeton and London, 1917.
TAUSSIG, Charles William
Rum and the Spirit of '76. McNaught's Magazine. April, 1927.
WEEDEN, W. B.
Economic and Social History of New England. 2 Vols. Boston and New York, 1890.
WILSON, Woodrow
History of the American People. 10 Vols. New York, 1918.
WOODWARD, W. E.
George Washington, The Image and the Man. New York, 1926.

CHAPTER IV. COLONIAL RUM TRADERS AND RUM RUNNERS

CHAPTER V. WHAT HAPPENED ON THE AFRICAN COAST

CHAPTER VI. SLAVE TRADE

CHAPTER VII. SLAVE SHIPS

ABBOT, Willis J.
American Merchant Ships and Sailors. New York.
AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD I. Pp. 316-42.
BARBOT, John
Description of North and South America in Churchill's Collection of Voyages. London, 1746.
CAREY, H. C.
The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign. Why It Exists and How It May Be Extinguished. Philadelphia, 1853.

CASE OF THE VIGILANTE, a Ship Employed in the Slave Trade with Some Reflections on That Traffic. London, 1826.

CHAPIN, Howard M.
Rhode Island Privateers in King George's War, 1739-1748. Rhode Island Historical Society. Providence, 1926.

CLARKSON, Thomas
The History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament. 2 Vols. London, 1808.

CRANE, Verner W.
A Rhode Island Slaver, Trade Book of The Sloop Adventure, 1773-1774. Shepley Library. Providence, 1922.

COMMERCE OF RHODE ISLAND 1726-1800. Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections LXIX, LXX.

DOW, George Francis
Slave Ships and Slaving. Marine Research Society. Salem, Mass., 1927. Pub. 15.

DRAKE, Capt. Richard
Revelations of a Slave Smuggler: being the Autobiography of Capt. Richard Drake, an African Trader for Fifty Years, from 1807 to 1857. New York, 1860.

EDWARDS, Bryan
History of the British Colonies in the West Indies. 3 Vols. 4th Edition. London, 1807.

EVIDENCE Delivered Before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Years 1790 and 1791.

HAKLUYT,
The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries Made by the English Nation. London, 1589.

HOWE, George
The Last Slave Ship. Scribner's Magazine. July, 1890.

JEFFERSON, Thomas
Memoirs, Correspondence and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph. 4 Vols. London, 1829.

LEWIS, Mathew Gregory, Esq., M.P.
Journal of a West India Proprietor. London, 1834.
MAIR, John
Book-keeping Methodiz'd: or, A Methodical Treatise of Merchant-Accompts. (Valuable for its "Merchants' Dictionary"). Edinburgh, 1752.
MASSACHUSETTS Historical Society Collections VIII.
MAYER, Brantz
Captain Canot or Twenty Years of an African Slaver. New York, 1854.
MOORE, George H.
Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts. New York, 1866.
MOORE, Francis
Travels in Africa. 1738.
MUNRO, Wilfred Harold
Tales of An Old Sea Port. Princeton & London, 1917.
NEW YORK COLONIAL TRACTS III.
PAINE, Ralph D.
The Romance of an Old Time Shipmaster. New York, 1907.
PHILIPS, U. B.
American Negro Slavery. New York, 1918.
REPORT to the House of Lords on the Abolition of the Slave Trade. 2 Vols. London, 1789.
SPEARS, John R.
The American Slave-Trade, an Account of its Origin, Growth and Suppression. New York, 1900.
WEEDEN, W. B.
Economic and Social History of New England. 2 Vols. Boston & New York, 1890.
WESTON, William
The Complete Merchants' Clerk: or, British and American Counting-House. London, 1762.

CHAPTER VIII. RUM IN THE TAVERN AND THE HOME

ADAMS, Charles Francis
Three Episodes of Massachusetts History. Boston and New York, 1893.

AMERICAN MUSEUM, The
or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, etc. Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1787.

BATES, S. A.
Records of the Town of Braintree. Randolph, Mass.

CHASTELLUX, Francois-Jean de
Travels in North America in 1780-1781-1782. New York, 1828.

CRAWFORD, Mary Caroline
Old Colonial Inns. Boston, 1924.

DANA, Richard Henry, Jr.
Two Years Before the Mast. New York, 1909.

DUNTON, John
Letters from New England. Boston, 1867.

EARLE, Alice Morse
Customs and Fashions in Old New England. New York, 1893-1902.

EARLE, Alice Morse
Stage Coach and Tavern Days. New York, 1900-1901-1924.

FELT, Joseph
Annals of Salem. 2 Vols. Salem, 1845-1849.

FIELD, Edward
The Colonial Tavern. Providence, 1897.

FISHER, Sydney G.
Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times. Philadelphia, 1898.

FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. New York, 1909.

HACKWOOD, F. W.
Inns, Ales and Drinking Customs of Old England.

HINDLEY, Charles
Tavern Anecdotes and Sayings. London, 1875.
JOSSELYN, John
An Account of Two Voyages to New England Made Durthe Years 1638-1663. Boston, 1895.
KROUT, John Allen
The Origins of Prohibition. New York, 1925.
NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS. Vol. I.
Diary of Joshua Hempstead.
PEEKE, Hewson L.
Americana Ebrietatis, The Favorite Tipple of Our Forefathers and the Laws and Customs Relating Thereto. Privately Printed, 1917.
RECORDS of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. 5 Vols. Boston, 1853-1854.
TAUSSIG, Charles William
Importance of Molasses and Its Many Uses. Magazine Article—Facts About Sugar, July 8, 1922.
WEEDEN, W. B.
Economic and Social History of New England. 2 Vols. Boston and New York, 1890.

CHAPTER IX. RUM AND COLONIAL IMMORALITY

ADAMS, Charles Francis
Three Episodes of Massachusetts History. Boston and New York, 1893.
ADAMS, Charles Frances
Some Phases of Sexual Morality and Church Discipline in Colonial Massachusetts.—Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, Series II, Vol. VI., 417-516.
ADAMS, John
The Works of John Adams (10 vols), edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Boston, 1856.

AMERICAN MUSEUM, THE
or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, etc. Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1787.

BARNABY, The Rev. Andrew
Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the years 1759-60. London, 1775.

FISHER, Sydney G.
Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times. Philadelphia, 1898.

KNICKERBOCKERS' History of New York.

PETERS, The Rev. Samuel
General History of Connecticut, 1781.

PRIEST, William
Travels in the United States of America, 1793-1797. London, 1802.

RUSSELL, Phillips
Benjamin Franklin, the First Civilized American. New York, 1926.

USHER, J. M.
History of the Town of Medford. Boston, 1886.

WOODWARD, W. E.
George Washington, The Image and the Man. New York, 1926.

APPENDIX II

LETTERS TO A RHODE ISLAND MERCHANT OF THE 18TH CENTURY

APPENDIX II

LETTERS TO A RHODE ISLAND MERCHANT OF THE 18TH CENTURY

The following four letters have been selected in addition to those quoted in the text, as being best suited to convey some of the atmosphere which surrounded the business of the prominent Rhode Island merchants in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Daniel Tillinghast to Aaron Lopez.

Providence, June 21st, 1770.

Sir,

Yours of the 18th and 21st Instant have before me should have answered you first and sent you some (rum), but Hacker has been but one trip since, and I was then out of town. as to the wants of in one Hhds. of Rum per Hacker cant account for it, as it was filled up quite full when it went out of the Still House. it must be owing to the Hhd. not being tight, as some of them I have now in the Still House, two of which Hhds. have been obliged to have a head taken out of each and new flag'd. they lost me several gallons before I found it out, as to the quality of the Rum I have been as carefull to make it all alike as possible, and as good as any I ever made for Guinea. I ordered Hacker to have the Rum inspected on board the Boat, and if any under Proof to bring it back again, as any Distiller in Newport will condemn Rum that doth not come out of there Hans, or rather any that comes from Providence. I shall still Low wines tomorrow, will then send you down 12 gallons High wines to putt in the 3 Hhds. you mentioned. if you could confide in any person hear to se the Rum

before it was shipt I would willingly pay the expence of Inspection. as to any more Molasses I should be glad of a few Hhds. more if it be good,—some of that I had before was very poor. I had not time to examin the whole of it when I was there, and have distill but 5 Hhds. of it yett. I have not sent you 5 Hhds. of Rum, 528 gallons hope it will be full and to your Captains Likeing. I am, Sir your most Humble Servant,

Daniel Tillinghast.

Peleg Greene to Aaron Lopez.

Annamaboe, December the 25th, 1774.

Dear Sir,

I Gladly imbrace this present oppertunity to acuaint you of our safe arrival here after a tedious Pasage of 140 days after stoping to windward as we run down along we tuch to almost every Port running down but purchased only 12 Slaves with all our trouble, but at our arrival here found times to be very good thanks be to God for it. there was only one Rum man that is Captain Johnson of Boston and he had almost done before we arrived. Shall mention some of the Perticuler which may be of servis to you as you carry on this trade, in regard to the Prices of Slaves. Our Captain gives for Prime men slaves 190 Gallons and 200 do. and for Prime women 170 and 180 Do. to the whites; and the Black trade is very good at present which give us a great Prospect of a good Voyage and Dispatch. Ive had a good oppertunity of getting acquanted in this trade, as we tuched all the way down the Coast, and have improved every hour of time, and have been in the Long boat ever sence we arrived here which is not common for a second mate, and am glad to tell you without vannity that I think myself capable of taking charge of a Vessell in this trade with what experience I have acquired for I find the trade very easy, and hope you will think of your faithfull six years servant against his Return, if it should please God to speare his life, as I am confident that I am capable of taking Charge of Vessell about 100 or 120 Hhd. which is full bigg for Dispatch, and it

will be a good time of the year when we return, as we expect to be home in July if nothing happens, and the Vessell thats now fitting and on their Pasages will all be off the Coast that time of course. have nothing more to mention only please to give my Complements to your Lady and family likewise to Mr. Lavary and family and to Miss Wright. Shall conclude with my sincere wishes for your wellfare. am Sir, Your Humble Servant and yours to serve,

Peleg Greene

Endorsed, Via Barbadoes, Captain Clarke.

Alexander Wilson to Aaron Lopez.

Kingston, June 22, 1770.

Sir,

I suppose Capt. Newdigate has informed you of my leaving the Vessel, which I was obliged to do while in a Christian Country, for if I had not left him in the Bay he would have left me. he is not the man you take him for, if you please to enquire of the people they can tell (you) what he is. I dare say you have heard of Mr. Crudger, of his second Marriage in Dublin, and leaving his Wife sick of the foul desease, which if caught will pay for it. he has used me very ill and all people can say the same, for he is a Rogue and I should be glad to have the pleasure of seeing him and you together. ask the people about the Mahogany they pick't up last Voyage and you paid for it. Out of seventeen hundred weight of Beef bought in Dublin he only sold in Madeira 20 Bullocks of it, and very often obliged his Whores with a roasting piece, and a few Coals, and a great many other things which I dare say you will find out. he flung the Merchant at Bistol out one tierce of Rice, and intends to charge the Brigg with it. he has stoped from me the Order of 14 Dollars and 15 Days pay that I was at London, tho' he has got a Receipt for the Whole he owes me money yet, and I cannot (get it), but pay him or keep the Money in your hands. after hurting me all he could, when he went away he gave me the Character of an Informer,

which I never deserved. he loves to broach his Cargoes so well that (no one who) knows him will ship any thing with him. So, Sir, I hope you will pardon my Boldness in accquainting you of a few things that was necessary for you to know, and if his mate and people speakes the truth, will tell you the same. From Your Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant,

Alexander Wilson.

I dare say he will lay me out to be a great Rascal but the people knowes better.

On the same voyage, Capt. Newdigate is caught smuggling and keeps out of trouble by bribing the port officials.

Henry Isreall to Aaron Lopez.

Jamaica, St. Anns, July 8th, 1770.

Sir,

Meeting with this favourable Opportunity have embraced it. I am hopefull you'll excuse my taking the Liberty in troubling of you in this Letter. I live in the Country and we are obliged to live very hard as we cant gett such sort of provisions as is suitable to our Religion without sending to the Towns in Jamaica. it is then a great Length and chargeable and what we gett is very poor Stuff and dear. I would therefore be kindly oblige to you if you would be so kind as to take the trouble found in sending by the Return of Captain Potter for Saint Anns, Two good large Barrell of good [Kosher] Beeff (fatt and prime pieces) and will send you the Payment by the Return of the same Vessell. I must also beg you'll send me it as reasonable as possible, as I have a large Family, and I have enough to do to support 'em genteelly. If you'll please enquire of Capt. James Potter, of me or of Captain Hefferron, they will tell you, or of any other of the Captains that trades here. I have been in this Parish going on forty-two Years. Captain John Freebody, Jun'r, who was here in the year Fifty-Three at a Circumcission of one of my Sons, can tell you. I am onacquainted with your Person or Family but I hope they

enjoy their Health. I am with Esteem, Sir, Your most obedient Servant

Henry Isreall.

N.B. If you can, or if it would be agreeable, I would be much (obliged) to you to have packed up in one of the Barrells a few Tongues.

APPENDIX III

A RHODE ISLAND SLAVER

TRADE BOOK OF

THE SLOOP *ADVENTURE*

1773–1774

(Published by the Shepley Library, Providence, 1922.
Reprinted by the kind permission of the editor, Verner W. Crane.)

Sloop adventure & owners, Dr.					*Contra* " - - - - - - - Cr.				
		bars[1]	$	d			Bars	$	d
Sirelone[2] *December 28, 1773*					*Sirelone December 28, 1773*				
To Kings toms Costom[3]		15	00		By 15 gall of Rum	15	15		
To 100 gall of Rice		12			By 12 gall Do	12	12		
		27	00	00			27	00	00
29 To 3 Tun of Rice		270	00	00	*29* By 360 gall of Rum	360	270		
To 1 Cag of Tallow		2	00	00	By 2 gall Do	2	2		
To 1 Hat		2	00		By 2 gall Do	2	2		
		274	00	00			274	00	00
the Dutch mines[4] *Janaory the 30, 1774*					*Dutch mine, Jane 30, 1774*				
	oz	ack	T	$			oz	ack	T
To 1 woman Slave No 1				9 00 00	By 1 Tun of Rice			9 00	
To 6 oz 6 ackeys of gold	6	6			By 250 gall of Rum	250	6	6	
To Connoa hire		1			By 1 gall Do	1		1	
To Rum Expended		6			By 6 gall Do	6		6	
	15	13					15	13	00
Cape Cost[6] *31*					*cape Cost Jen 21*				
To Coneoa Hire		1			By 1 gall of Rum	1	00	1	
To 2 oz of gold	2	00			By 80 gall Do	80	2	00	
To large fish		1			By 1 gall Do	1		1	
To 4 fouls		2	00		By 2 gall Do	2		2	
	2	4	00				2	4	00
annamoboe[7] *Feby the 3*					*Annamboe Feb: 3*				
To 200 billets of wood		4			By 4 gall of Rum	4		4	
To 700 Billets of wood		14			By 14 gall of Rum	14		14	
	1	2	00				1	2	00
4 To 1 Woman Slave N 2		9	6		*4* By 140 gall of Rum &				
To 4 Emty Cask		12			10 ackeys of gold	140	9	6	
To Rum Expended		6	00		By 12 gall of Rum	12	12		
	10	8	00		By 6 gall Do	6	6		
							10	8	

1 On the Windward Coast a bar of iron of about forty pounds in weight was the unit of value. Francis Moore, *Travels in Africa* (1738), p. 45.

2 Sierra Leone.

3 Bryan Edwards, *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1793), II. 53: "In some parts of the coast there is a duty paid on each ship, to the king or chief man of the country; which is called his customs. In other parts this is not exacted; but it is only in such places as have but little trade."

4 Elmina, most ancient of the Gold Coast stations. In 1482 the Portuguese built the fort of San Jarge D'Elmina. In 1637 the Dutch secured possession by conquest, and in the eighteenth century this was the principal Dutch post.

5 On the Gold Coast values were measured in ounces of gold and in fractions of an ounce called "ackeys" and "tacoes". The former was one sixteenth of an ounce (the equivalent of an "angel"); the latter a variable measure, but here used as one-eighth of an ackey. A Dutch factor wrote: "We use here another kind of weights, which are a sort of beans, the least of which are red, spotted with black, and are called Dambas; twenty-four of them amounting to an angel, and each of them reckoned two stiver weights; the white beans, with black spots, or those entirely black, are heavier, and accounted four stiver weights; these they usually call Tacoes; but there are some which weigh half or a whole gilder; but these are not esteemed certain weights, but used at pleasure, and often become instruments of fraud". William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1705), reprinted in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels* (1814), XVI. 374.

6 Cape Coast Castle. English fort about seven miles east of Elmina.

7 Anamaboe, an English fort ten miles east of the principal station at Cape Coast.

Sloop adventure & owners,				*Dr.*	*Contra* - - - - - - - -				*Cr.*
winebe[8] *5 Day*					*winebe the 5*				
To 6 Emty Hohh			9		By 9 gall of Rum	9		9	
To 3 Emty Hohh			6		By 6 gall Do	6		6	
To Caring the mate of			1		By 1 gall Do	1		1	
		1	00	00			1	00	
					Rum 224 gall				
Quittrau[9] *7*					*Quittra 7*				
To 720 gall of Corn	4	8			By 72 gall of Rum	72	4	8	
To 4 Hogs		8			By 8 gall Do	8		8	
To 4 Douzen fouls		4			By 4 gall Do	4		4	
	5	4	00				5	4	00
whydah[10] *Feb 17*					*whydah the 17*				
To a Canoa for Caring me ashore	1	00			By 1 gall of Rum	1		1	
To Rum Expended		2			By 2 gall Do	2		2	
to 1 Bag of limes			4		By ½ gall Do	½			4
		3	4					3	4
21 To 2 Santagoes Cloaths[11]		11			*21* By 11 gall of Rum	11		11	
To 2 trips of water		2			By 2 gall Do	2		2	
	00	13	00				00	13	00
Quittrau 26					*Quittra 26 Feb*				
To 480 gall of Corn	2	00	00		By 32 gall of Rum	32	2		
To 6 Small Pigs		8			By 8 gall Do	8		8	
To 3 goats		4			By 4 gall Do	4		4	
To 1 Douzen of fouls		1			By 1 gall Do	1		1	
To 6 Small shots		4			By 4 gall Do	4		4	
	3	1	00				3	1	00
Winnebe march the 10					*Winnebe march the 10*				
To 1 Man Slave No 3	12	8			By 200 gall of Rum	200	12	8	
To 4 Emty Hoghh		8			By 8 gall Do	8		8	
To Carring the mate of		1			By 1 gall Do	1		1	
	13	1					13	1	00
annamboe 17					*annamboe*				
To 2 women Slaves No 4 & 5	25	00			By 400 gall of Rum	400	25	00	
	25						25	00	00
Cape Cost 21					*Cape Cost 21*				
To 7 Emty Hoghh		14			By 14 gall of Rum	14		14	
To wom slave No 6	4	6	00		By 4 oz 6 ackeys of gold		4	6	
	5	4					5	4	
					Rum Brot Down 1696				

[8] Winnebah (Simpa), on the Gold Coast, about fifty miles east of Cape Coast Castle.

[9] Quitta (Keta), on a sandy isthmus just east of the mouth of the Volta River, which divides the Gold Coast from the Slave Coast, and about one hundred and seventy-five miles east of Cape Coast Castle. "On the densely populated Slave Coast, the factories were few and the trade virtually open to all comers." U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (1918), p. 26.

[10] On the Slave Coast (Dahomey), ninety miles from the Volta. This was the eastern limit of the *Adventure's* cruise; from Sierra Leone she had followed the coast southward and eastward some twelve hundred and fifty miles.

[11] Probably slave cloths. St. Jago was a hill, north-east of Elmina, where Fort Conradsburg was built by the Dutch in 1638.

Sloop adventure & owners,				*Dr.*	*Contra*				*Cr.*
					Rum Brot over	1696			
Cape Cost march the 22					*Cape Cost march the 22*				
To 1 wom Slave N 7			12	13	By 205 gall of Rum	205		12	13
To 1 woman slave N 8			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman slave No 9			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Slave No 10			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 11			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 12			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 13			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 15			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 16			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 17			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 18			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
To 1 woman Do No 14			12	13	By 205 gall Do	205		12	13
			153	12				153	12 00
23 To 1 man Slave No 19			14	1	*23* By 225 gall of Rum	225		14	1
To 2 Men Do No 20 & 21			28	2 00	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
To 2 Men Do No 22 & 23			28	2 00	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
To 2 Men Do No 24 & 25			28	2	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
To 2 Men Do No 26 & 27			28	2	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
To 2 Men Do No 28 & 29			28	2	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
To 2 Men Do No 31 & 30			28	2	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
To 2 Men Do No 32 & 33			28	2	By 450 gall Do	450		28	2
			210	15 00				210	15
24 To 9 trips of water				9	*24* By 9 gall of Rum	9			9
To 40 Conkeys[12]				4	By 4 Tackcoes of gold				4
To 2 Douzen of fouls				4	By 4 ackeys of gold				4
To 1 Basket of limes				1	By 1 gall of Rum	1			1
			00	14 00				00	14 00
					Rum Brought Down	7512			
25 To 1 woman slave No 34			6	00 00	*25* By 96 gall of Rum	96		6	00 00
To Beef and Tobaco &[c.]				1 00	By 3 p of beef & do tobaco			00	1
To Rum Expend.				4	By 4 gall of Rum	4			4
			6	5 00				6	5 00
26 To 7 Emty Hoghh			1	00 00	*26* By 16 gall of Rum	16		1	00 00
To 80 Conkeys				1	By 1 ackey of gold				1
To 30 Do				3	By 3 Tackcoes of gold				3
To fouls				3	By 3 ackeys of gold			00	3 00
To 1 oz of gold			1	00 00	By 32 gall of Rum	32		1	00 00
			2	4 3				2	4 3
28 To 9 gall Pomoile[13]				9 00	*28* By 9 gall of Rum	9			9 00
To Ducks				1 00	By 1 gall Do	1			1
To 80 Conkeys				1	By 1 ackeys of gold				1
To 11 Trips of Water				11	By 11 gall of Rum	11			11
			1	6				1	

12 Conchas or conchs: shell fish.

13 Palm oil: with slaves and gold a principal commodity of West Africa in the eighteenth century, and today the chief export.

Sloop adventure & owners,		Dr.			*Contra* - - - - - - -		Cr.		
29	To 3 oz of gold		3	00 00	*29* By 120 gall of Rum	120		3	00
	To 1 man slave No 35		12	8 00	By 200 gall Do	200		12	8
	To Beef and Tobaco			1	By 1 ackey of gold				1
	To 3 Bottles of mustard			1	By 4 p tobaco & 2 Do beef				1
	To Caring me a shore			1	By 1 gall of Rum	1			1
			15	11 00				15	11 00
annomoboe 31					*annomoboe 31*				
	To 7 felts			14	By 14 gall of Rum	14			14
	To 1 Canvis frock			2	By 2 gall Do	2			2 00
	To 300 Planting [14]			1 4	By 1 ackey 4 Tackcoes gold				1 4
	To Billets of wood			6 00	By 6 gall of Rum	6			6
			1	7 00				1	7 00
					Rum Brought Down	8022			
April the 1 Day					*april the 1 Day*				
	To 12 gall of Pomoll			12	By 12 gall of Rum	12			12
	To 660 Billets of wood			13	By 13 gall Do	13			13
	To 6 Emty Cask			15	By 15 gall Do	15			15
	To 6 Emty Hoghh		1	8	By 24 gall Do	24		1	8
			4	00 00				4	00 00
2	To 1000 phramfros [15]			4	*2* By 4 gall of Rum	4			4
	To 400 Plantings			4 00	By 4 gall Do	4			4
	To 600 Do			3 00	By 1 gall Do	1			1
	To 1 Basket of Peper			1	By 1 gall Do	1			1
	To 60 Billets of wood			1	By 3 ackeys of gold				3 00
	To 6 Emty Hoghh		1	8	By 24 gall of Rum	24		1	8
	To Rum Expend			4	By 4 gall of Rum	4			4
			2	9 00				2	9 00
3	To 1 man slave No 36		12	8	*3* By 200 gall of Rum	200		12	8
	To 100 Billets of wood			2	By 2 gall Do	2			2
	To 1000 Phramfroes			4 00	By 4 gall Do	4			4
	To 2 Basket of Peper			1	By 1 gall Do	1			1
			12	15				12	15
4	To 300 Planting		1	4	*4* By 1 ack & 4 Tackcoes				1 4
	To 4 gall Pomoile			4	By 4 gall of Rum	4			4
	To 1 man slave No 37		13	8	By 216 gall of Rum	216		13	8
			13	13 4				13	13 4
5	To 200 Planting			1	*5* By 1 ack of gold				1
	To 300 Do			3	By 3 gall of Rum	3			3
	To Costoms payd agartown [16]			6 00	By 6 gall Do	6			6
	To 2 Not[e]s that Cap tuell [17] left Not Payd			6	By 6 gall Do	6			6
			1	00 00		8565 gall		1	00 00

[14] Plantains.

[15] Unidentified, but apparently provisions.

[16] Agah is a village on the coast, about a mile east of Anamaboe.

[17] Captain Samuel Tuell commanded the *Adventure* in 1772-1773 on a voyage to Africa and the West Indies. He made a successful voyage, purchasing slaves at from 140 to 160 gallons, and losing none of them in the Middle Passage. He sold his cargo in Barbadoes at £35 a head, round. See *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800*, I. (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, LXIX), p. 397-429 *passim*.

Sloop adventure & owners, Dr.				*Contra* - - - - - - - - Cr.			
				Rum Brought over		8565	
april 9 Day				*april the 9*			
To 300 Plantings		1	4	By 1 ackey & 4 Tackcoes gold		1	4
To ½ gall of Pomoil			4	By ½ gall of Rum	½		4
		2	00			2	00
13 To 3000 Phramfroes	12			*13* By 12 gall of Rum	12	12	
To large Turtle	5			By 5 gall Do	5	5	
To the long Boats Expences	13			By 13 gall Do	13	13	
	1	14	00			1 14	00
16 To 4 Trips of water	4			*16* By 4 gall of Rum	4	4	00
To 2 Baskets of Peper	1			By 1 gall Do	1	1	
To 1 Basket of limes			4	By ½ gall Do	½		4
To 1 Cag of Tallow		1	4	By 1 akey & 4 Tack of gold	00	1	4
	00	7	00			7	00
17 To 8 Trips of water	8			*17* By 8 gall of Rum	8	8	
To 1 Basket of limes			4	By ½ gall of Rum	½		4
	8	4				8	4
18 To 400 Billets of wood	8			*18* By 8 gallons of Rum	8	8	
To 4 Trips of water	4			By 4 gall Do	4	4	
To Basket of Peper	1			By 1 gall Do	1	1	
	00	13	00			00 13	00
19 To 5 Trips of water	5			*19* By 5 gall of Rum	5	5	
To Pay for the Pond	8			By 8 gall Do	8	8	
To 1 Basket of limes			4	By ½ gall Do	½		4
To Rum Expended	3			By 3 gall Do	3	3	
	1	00	4			1 00	4
23 To 100 wood & 8 trips of water	10			*23* By 10 gall of Rum	10	10	
To 4 Trips of water	4			By 4 gall Do	4	4	
To Canoa Hire	8			By 3 gall Do	3	3	
					8654		
annamaboe april 25				*April 25*			
To 100 Billets of wood	2			By 2 gall of Rum	2	2	
To 5 trips of water	5			By 5 gall Do	5	5	
To 30 p of shugar	5			By 5 ackeys of gold		5	
To 1 Guinea Stuf	4			By 4 gall Do Rum	4	4	
To 4 Remols [18]	1	4		By 20 gall Do	20	1 4	
To 2 guinea stufs	8			By 8 gall Do	8	8	
	2	12	00			2 12	00
26 To 1 man Slave No 38	14	1		*26* By 225 gall of Rum	225	14	1
To 2 men Slaves No 39 & 40	28	2		By 450 gall Do	450	28	2
To 1 man Slave No 41	14	2		By 225 gall Do	225	14	1
	56	4				56	4

[18] Romals, or "sea handkerchiefs"

Sloop adventure & owners, Dr.				*Contra* - - - - - - - - Cr.			
27 To 1 man Slave No 42	14	1		*27* By 225 gall of Rum	225	14	1
To 1 man Slave No 43	14	1		By 225 gall Do	225	14	1
To 1 man Slave No 44	14	1		By 225 gall Do	225	14	1
To 1 man Slave No 45	14	1		By 225 gall Do	225	14	1
To 1 man Slave No 46	14	1		By 225 gall Do	225	14	1
To 600 Billets of wood		12		By 12 gall Do	12		12
To 1 Basket of Peper		1		By 1 gall Do	1		1
To Fish for the Slaves		5		By 5 gall Do	5		5
To 1 Trip of water		1		By 1 gall Do	1		1
	71	9	00			71	9 00
28 To 1 Emty Hoghh		1		*28* By 1 ackey of gold			1
To 200 of wood		4		By 4 gall of Rum	4		4
To 2000 of wood	2	8		By 40 gall Do	40	2	8
To Bringing the wood to the Boat		2		By 2 gall Do	2		2
To fish for the Slaves		1		By 1 gall Do	1		1
					10784		
april the 29				*april 29*			
To Half firken of Boter	00	12	00	By 12 gall of Rum	12		12
To 14 large Spikes		3		By 3 ackeys of gold			3
To 4 trips of water		4		By 4 gall Do [i. e. rum]	4		4
To 3 gall of Pomoile		3		By 4 Tackcoes of gold			4
To fis[h] for the Slaves			4	By 3 ackeys of gold			3
	1	6				1	6 4
30 To 3 gall of Pomoil		2		*30* By 2 gkeys of gall D (ale)			2
To 4 Trips of water		4		By 1 gall of Rum	1		1
To 1 quire of Paper		1		By 4 gall Do	4		4
To 4 Baskets of limes		2		By 2 gall Do	2		2
To fish		1		By 1 ackey of gold			1
	00	10				00	10
may the 1				*may the 1 Day*			
To 1 woman slave No 47	12	8		By 200 gall of Rum	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 48	12	8		By 200 gall of Rum	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 49	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 50	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 51	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 52	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 53	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 54	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman Slave No 55	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 woman slave No 56	12	8		By 200 gall Do	200	12	8
To 1 man Slave No 57	13	12		By 220 gall Do	220	13	12
To 1 man Do No 58	13	12		By 220 gall Do	220	13	12
To 2 men Boys No 59 60	26	8		By 440 gall Do	440	26	8
To 2 men Boys Do No 61/62	26	8		By 440 gall Do	440	26	8
	207	8				207	8
				rum	14107 gall		

Sloop adventure & owners, Dr.			*Contra* - - - - - - - - Cr.			
			rum 14107			
may the 2			*may the 2*			
To 1 Box of Pipes		3	By 3 ackeys of gold			3
To 1 fish		1	By 1 ackey of gold			1
To 1 Douzen of fouls		4	By 4 ackeys of gold			4
To the water had at Cap Cost	1	14	By 30 gall of Rum	30	1	14
To 1 wom Slave Bought for the Co[o]per [19]	4	1	By 65 gall of Rum	65	4	1
To 2 p of tea		2	By 2 ackeys of gold			2
To 17 P of shugar		3	By 3 acks of gold			3
To 2 Double Spring Padlocks		4	By 4 ackes of gold			4
To gold Takers Pay		4	By 64 gall of Rum	64	4	00 00
			By 34 gall of Rum Charge[d] our People	34		
By 1 oz of gold Brot of Belonging to you I Brought of the Cost			By 16 gall Trouted Sundre People on yours accompts	16		
			Leaks and wants of your Cargo	676		
Sold the long Boat Sails and Riging for 96 gall of Rum & one Barrel of flower			By 36 gall of Rum Cept for the Vessels youse	36		
			Rum Brot Down 15028 gall			
			Rum Expended on Board			
			Shugar Do			
			Tobacco Do			
			Molasses Do			
			Beef and Pork			
			Bread and flower			

19 Newport, October 20th, 1773.

I promise to pay Messrs. Christopher & George Champlin Three Hundred & Ten Pounds Six Shillings Old Tenor being Value Receiv'd in Rum advanc'd for Me as an Adventure in their Sloop *Adventure*, for Africa As witness my Hand

John Davis, Jr.

(Champlin Papers, Shepley Library.)

In the Letter Books, Newport Historical Society, is the following, addressed to the English governor of the Gold Coast:

Sr:

Messrs. Wanton of this Town having Showed us the Copy of a Declaration recd. from you said to be made by one Davis which shiped himself in our Vessell a Cooper, We have Enquired into the matter and find no foundation for his base Aspersions, saving he was utterly Incapable of doing his duty on our Vessell, and from our advancing him a large Sum for which he is still in Debt, joined with some crimes we are informed he was guilty of in said Sloop, for which he may be called to an account — and thereby solicited his Discharge. From these circumstances we can easily account for Calumny and must think if you have trusted him within the reach of Rum, you will not be at a loss for his behavior. There may be a time when it may be in our power to do ourselves Justice, and in the mean time we are respectfully,

Sr Your most obedient humb.

Servt. Chris. Champlin
Geo. Champlin

Newport
Nov: 19th 1774
David Mills, Esqr.
Governor
Cape Coast

Sloop adventure & owners, Dr.		*Contra* - - - - - - - - Cr.	
Grando[20] *June the 20*	old tener[21] £ s d		£ s d
To a Permit for Sailing	£12 00 00	*Cant Christophers July 4* By Cash Received of the marchant on your accompts	
Sant Christophers[22] *July 4* To a Permit for Sailing	12 00	£448	£448 00 00
Esasy[23] *July 7* To my Pashage up to San Cits[22] and Down a gain	£32 00 00	370	
To 2 Tarces of Bread	£64 00 00	£78	78 00 00
To Cash advanced the People	£232 00 00	Ballance Due 32	
To a Permit for Sailing	8 00	Chris & George Champlin £46 00 00	
	£370 00 00		
To 11 Boats Loads of Stone Balles £ 32	32 00 00		
	402		
May the 18, 1774 Bured one man Slave[24]			
31 Bured one woman Slave			
June the 5 Bured one man Slave			
the 10 Bured one man Slave			

20 Grenada, in the Windward Islands. April 22, 1774 Threlfal and Anderson, merchants in Grenada, had written to the Champlins that their market was not as good as might be expected from the small number of slaves lately sold. "Out of 17 Cargo's (say 3750 Slaves) that came in full expectation of selling at this Market in the space of 5 Months last past, only six Cargos, (say abt: 1320) has been sold all the rest gone to Jamaica or Carolina but believe mostly to the former place." Those sold had "averaged a tolerable good price say from £35 to 37." The demand continued, but the factors were deterred from buying by the bad credit of the planters, whose bills had been protested. They hoped to keep up the price of Gold Coast slaves, especially in small cargoes. A month later they wrote that they had averaged a cargo of 90 odd slaves brought in by the brig *Polly* of Newport at £39 17s 6d sterling. They then hoped to do as well with the *Adventure's* slaves; but apparently were disappointed, as the sales were made at St. Kitt's. (Champlin Papers, unbound, Rhode Island Historical Society.)

21 In 1774 old tenor Rhode Island currency passed at a ratio to sterling of 36 to 1

22 St. Christophers, or St. Kitts, in the Leeward Islands.

23 St. Eustatius: a small Dutch island northeast of St. Kitts, notorious as an entrepot of illicit trade, where European manufactures and French sugars and molasses were taken on board by New England traders, to be smuggled or entered as goods of English origin.

24 This is the record of deaths during the dreaded Middle Passage from Africa to the West Indies. The proportion of loss of four out of sixty-three was not, perhaps, excessive; the average mortality has been estimated at from eight to ten per cent. U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (1918), p. 38.

Decembe[r] the 29, 1773

MR. THOMAS NEWTON,[25] DR.

	Starling
To 2 SanTagoes Cloaths @/20	£2 00 00
30 To 1 Pare of Stripe Cotton Trouses @/10	10
	£2 10 00

old tenor £90 - - - - - - - - - - - - old tenor

oct 15, 1773

GEORGE HURST, SEAMAN, DR.

	Starling £	d
To Wayges advanced before Sailing	£4 8	11.

Decem the 15

To Sundres advanced on our Voyge		
To 6 gall of Rum @ 5s	£1 10	
To 1 Felt Hat @ 5s	05	
To 4 p of Coffe	05	
april the 27, 1774		
To 2 gall of molasses	10	
	£6 18 11	

£ 6.18.11
4. 8.11
£ 2:10: 0 is £90—old Tenor

June the 20, 1774

Ranaway in the Island of Granado

Oct 20, 1773

WILLIAM MORRISON, DR.

	Starling	d
To wayges advanced Before Sailing	£2 09	03
To 5 gall of Rum	1 5	00
To 1 felt Hat	5	00
Cant Christopher June 30, 1774		
To Cash	3 6	
Currense for Starling	£7 05	03
To 1 Shirt & 1 Pare of trouse	1 00	00
	£8 05	03

£ 5:16 is £ 208:16

December the 3, 1773

WILLIAM AYERS, SEAMAN, DR.

	Starling		
To 6 gall & ½ of Rum @ 5s	£1	12	6
To 2 gall of molasses		10	00
Eustatia July 6, 1774			
To 2 Pare of trousses	1	00	00
To Cash	1	13	00
Currense for Starling	£4	15	6

is old tenor £ 171:18

[25] Second mate. His monthly wages as shewn by the portage bill were £60 old tenor, or £1 13s 4d sterling. The same wages were paid Robert Champlin and George Battey, first mate. But the master of a slaver received a coast commission of "4 in 104" on sales, besides his "privilege" or right to carry an adventure for sale on his own account. Privileges were also accorded to the other officers, and on the *Adventure* to the cooper. At Anamaboe, May 3, the first mate dispensed to six members of the crew, out of his privilege, 16 1/2 gallons of rum, for which he received £4 2s 6d sterling. Davis the cooper signed at £64; Merrigan, Ayers, Hurst, and Morrison at £52; Mevous and Warwick the cook (an Indian) at £48. Thomas Eyres signed "for my Servant, named Frank" who, as cabin boy, was paid £40 a month. Christopher Bond signed July 5 at £64 in place of George Hurst who had decamped.

MICAJAH MERRIGAN, SEAMAN, DR.

Decem 23 Day, 1773

To 8 gall of Rum @ 5s	£2 00 00	
To 4 gall of molasses @ 5s	1 00 00	
To 1 Hat & 4 P of Coffee	10	
Eu[s]tatia July the 6, 1774		
To 2 Pare of Trouses	1 00	
To Cash	1 13	
Currense for Starling	£6 03 00	old Tenor £ 221.7

Decem the 14, 1773

EPHRAIM MEVOUS, SALOR, DR.

	Starling	
To 6 gall of Rum	£1 10	
To 6 gall of molasses	1 10	
To 2 felt Hats	10	
To 4 Checks shirts	2 00 00	
To 3 Pare Trouses	1 10 00	
To 1 flanning Jacket	10	
To 4 P of Coffe	5	
Eustatia July the 6, 1774		
To Cash	1 13	
Currense for Starling	£9 08 00	£ 338.8. old Tenor

Decem 23, 1773

JOHN WARWICK, COOK, DR.

	Starling	
To 6 gall of Rum	£1 10 00	
To 2 Checks Shirts	1 00 00	
To 3 Pare of trouses	1 10	
To 3 gall of molaseses	15	
To 1 Hat	5	
To 4 P of Coffee	5	
Eustatia July 6 Day, 1774		
To Cash	1 13	
Currense for Starling	£6 18 00	£ 248:8. old Tenor

FRANK, SARVANT DOCT EY[RES] EARS, DR.

march the 20, 1774

	Starling	
To 3 Check Shirts	£1 10	
Eustatia July 6		
To 2 Pare of trouses	1 00 00	£ 3.9 is £ 124
To 1 flanning Jacket	10	
To 1 Hat	5	
To Cash	4 6	

INDEX

Abbot, W. J., 180 ff.
Accra, 124
Adams, Charles Francis, 7; on bundling, 236
Adams, John, on rum and taverns, 8; on slavery in Mass., 35; on rum and fish trade, 38; on Writs of Assistance, 61, 62; on Sugar Act and Stamp Act, 62, 67-72; on illicit venery, 242
Adams, Samuel, 67, 78
Adultery, 126
Adventure, sloop, 106 ff.; trade book of, 111, 112, also appendix III
Africa, 33, 34, 48, 51, 52, 107 ff., 119 ff.; description of, 131, 132, 133
Ahmah-de Bellah, 134 ff.
Ale, 5, 223
Ali-mami of Footha Yallon, 139
Amelia Island, Fla., 164
Ames, Fisher, 26
Amherst, Sir Geoffrey, 49
Anamaboe, 36, 111, 113, 120
Angola, 128
Arnold, James, surgeon brig *Ruby,* 185
Ashburton Treaty, 165
Assiento Treaty, 155, 157
Ayrault, 106

Baker, Polly, 241
Bangalang, 133 ff.
Barataria, 164
Barbados, 4, 5, 6, 18, 45, 46, 47, 91, 92, 93, 146
Barracoons, 53, 124
Bathias, voyage of, 17, 18
Blackstrap, 220
Blair, Frank W., 78
Benezet, Antony, 45
Berkeley, Governor, of Virginia, 13
Bernard, Gen., 38
Bight of Benin, 120
Bogus, 224
Bombo, 12
Bonny, 120
Boston, 34, 35, 36, 71, 75, 77; taverns, 203 ff.
Boston Evening Post, slave advertisements in, 103
Boston News Letter, Aug. 10, 1769, 102
Bowman, John, 127
Buchanan, James, 181
Bundling, 236 ff.
Burke, Edmund, 250
Burns, Robert, 230
Butler, Captain, 91
Bradford, Gov. William, on immorality, 243
Brandy, 14, 21, 52, 88, 223
Brillante, 193, 194, 195
Bristol, Eng., 185
Bristol, R. I., 65, 95, 100, 101
Brookes, British ship, 173, 174
Brown, John, 65

Cape Blanco, 153
Cape of Good Hope, 153
Cape St. Maria, 120
Cape Verde, 120, 124
Calabar, 120
Calibogus, 224
Canot, Capt. Theodore, 52, 130 ff.
Carpenter, Captain, 91
Castellux, General, 161
Champlin Brothers, Nicholas, Joseph, John, Moses, 106 ff.
Champlin, Oliver, 107

Champlin, Robert, 107
Charles V, Emperor, 150
Charles I, 153
Charles II, 32
Charleston, 87
Cider, 12, 14, 15
Civil War, 43
Clarence, Duke of, 158
Clarkson, Thomas, 157
Congo, 124
Connecticut, 15, 16, 32, 66
Coow Woow, 5
Continental Congress, 69
Corn-husking, 245, 246
Crane, Verner W., 106 ff.
Curwin, Samuel, 40, 41

Dana, of Connecticut, 161
Dana, R. H., on molasses, 229
Dancing, in Colonial times, 235, 236
Darrow, Clarence, 63
Deblois, Gilbert, 39, 40, 41, 42
Dedham, Mass., 245
de las Casas, Bartholomew, 150
Denny, Gov., 49
Denonville, M., 25
Desire, vessel, 172
Dexter, Samuel, 34
Distillers, Distilleries, see Rum
Dixon, James, 90
Dolben, Sir William
Dongan, Gov. of New York, 25
Dow, G. F., 124
Dowing, George, 179
Drake, Captain Richard, 186
Drams, 184
Dudington, Lt. Thomas, 64, 65

Earle, Captain William, 97
Earle, Mrs., 209 ff.
Edwards, Bryan, 149 ff., 182
Elizabeth, Queen, 152
England, 31, 37, 38

Fame, vessel, 172
Faneuil, Peter, 50; and the rum trade, 84, 85, 87, 88
Ferguson, Captain, 91
Fetiches, 126
Fisheries, 38
Flags of Truce, 48, 49
Flip, 73, 75, 222, 223
Fort William Henry, 68
Foster, Colonel, 64
France, 48, 49, 52, 59
Franklin, Benjamin, on rum and Indians, 18, 19, 20; punch barrel, 19; on rum and religion in the army, 215, 216; on bundling, 239; speech on Polly Baker, 241, 242
Free Trade and Sailors' Rights, 155
French and Indian War, 59, 76, 77
Fullah Tribe, 134, 136

Gambia, 120
Gardner, Captain, 91
Gaspee, burning of, 64, 65, 66, 67
George III, 75
Gloria, Brazilian brig, 186
Gloucester, 42, 63
Gold Coast, 110, 120, 126, 128
Gordon, George W., U. S. Consul, 181
Gordon, Nathaniel, last slaver, 200
Goree, 103, 120
Granada, 111
Great Britain, 31, 102, 161
Grenville, 59
Griffen, Captain, 94
Grog, 221
Guinea, 17, 33, 35, 89, 107; Bight of, 110

Hall, Isaac, 79
Hamilton, James, 49
Hamlet, Captain, 91, 92
Hancock, John, 57, 67, 71, 77, 78; and Paul Revere, 78
Hanover, snow, 93
Hartley, David, 158
Hawkins, Sir John, 151
Hazard, 106
Henry, Patrick, 67
Hill, Rev. Pasacoa Grenfell, 177
Hughes, Rupert, 68
Hume, 251, 252
Huscott, Malachi, 145

Immorality, on slave ships, 185, 187, 233 ff.
Indians, and rum, 11, 19 ff.
Insurance, marine, 90
Intercourse, with negro girls, 125, 185; pre-marital, 241
Ivory Coast, 120

James I, 153
Jamestown, 171
Jefferson, Thomas, 159, 160, 161
Jepson, Captain, 91
Jews, arrival in Rhode Island, 83
Johnson, Dr., on taverns, 203
Johnson, William, 90, 91, 92
Jolly Bachelor, snow, 87
Josselyn, John, on taverns, 212

Kentucky, slave ship, 181
Kill-Divil, 4
King George, partly owned by Potter, 97
King, Senator, 69
Koran, 144
Ku-Kluxism, early American, 105

Lafitte, 164
Lexington, 78
Liberia, 120
Lincoln, General, 68, 77, 78
Lindsay, Captain David, voyage of, 89 ff., 172
Liverpool, 52, 156
Lloyd, Thomas, 87
Loggerhead, 222, 223
Longfellow, H. W., 79, 81
Lopez, Aaron, Simeon Potter's letter to, 98, 106; 267 ff.

McClellan, W. S., 37, 48
McCoy, Bill, 41, 42
McKean, 64
Machiavellism, 120
Madeira, 12, 14
Mahometan slave dealers, 130
Marblehead, 172
Maryland, 70
Massachusetts, 7, 34, 35, 38, 66, 70, 84; distilleries in, in 1750, 16; slaves imported into, 102; taverns, 203 ff.
Mather, Cotton, 145, 146
Mayer, Brantz, 52, 54, 130
Mayflower, 171
Medford, 79, 233
Meeting House, and tavern, 205, 206
Metheglin, 14
Minot, Judge, 68
Minute Men, 79
"Missionaries on deck and rum in the hold," 190
Mitchell, David B., 164
Molasses, 5; prohibited for distilling in Connecticut, 15, 16, 18; George Washington and, 27, 32, 38, 41, 59, 68; most important New England industry, 62, 63, 75, 98, 108; quantity carried by slavers, 172; blackstrap, 220; as a sweetening, 229
Molasses Act of 1733, 35, 59, 67, 68, 70, 87, 162, 163; James Otis on, 51; Violation of, 38-41, 43, 47, 50
Molasses Act of 1763, see Sugar Act
Mongo, 133
Munro, W. H., 64; on Simeon Potter, 95, 101, 102

Namquit Point, 64, 65
Narragansett Bay, 64, 102
Negroes, see Slaves
Newburyport, 75, 76
New England, 4, 31-33, 37, 51, 54, 63, 102, 119, 163; "big business" in, 7; bribery, 60; taverns, 203 ff.
New Hampshire, 66, 218
Newport, 16, 89, 90, 96, 108
Newspapers, slave advertisements in Southern, 191, 192
New York, 90; drinking in, 13; imports rum, 18; Indians and rum, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26
Non-Importation Agreement, 67
Northumberland, Earl of, 61

Ober, Captain, 40, 41
Ordination drinking, 214-216

Ormond, John, 133 ff.
Otis, James, 39, 51, 67; on Writs of Assistance, 61, 62
Ovando, 150

Patriotic platitudes, 249
Pemberton, 34
Penn, William, on Indians and rum, 21, 22; and Cotton Mather, 145, 146
Pennsylvania, 49
Pepys, Samuel, 213
Pilgrims, 209
Pitt, 49
Porpoise, brig, 145
Port, 12, 14
Potter, Captain Simeon, and the *Gaspee,* 65; 95 ff.
Prince Charles, privateer, 96
Pringle, Robert, 88
Prohibition Laws and Regulations, 3, 10, 15, 16, 18, 28, 41-47, 63, 64
Prostitutes, in Colonial New England, 244
Providence, 65, 106
Punch, 12, 75, 224, 227; Franklin's punch barrel, 19

Quincy, Josiah, on rum and molasses, 220

Rainbow, Boston ship, 179
Religion, and the rum trade, 119, 121
Revere, Paul, drinks rum on his famous ride, 78, 79
Revolutionary War, 51, 66, 69, 99
Rhode Island, 32-34, 66, 83, 99
Rhode Island Currency, 112
Rio Pongo, 133 ff.
Robinson, James Harvey, 150
Rodeur, story of French slaver, 187
Rowe's Wharf, 71
Royal African Company, 32
Ruby, brig, 185
Rum, classification, 3; New England's indulgence in, 4; derivation of name, 4; manufacture of, 5; enemy of propagation, 6; John Adams on, 8, 69, 75, 76, 77; Indians and, 11, 18-26; in Virginia, 11, 12; in Massachusetts, 1721, 15, 16; importance of, 17; imported into New York, 1723, 18; and George Washington, 26-28; economic status of, 31-54, 59; as a cause of the Revolution, 62, 68; Hancock's letter on, 77, 78; and Paul Revere, 78, 79; in Rhode Island, 83; and Peter Faneuil, 84, 85, 87, 88; ships, 91; Potter's admonition regarding, 97; cargo on *Adventure,* 108; as part payment of master's wages, 111; in bartering for slaves, 137; in the tavern and home, 203 ff.; and immorality, 233 ff.
Rumbooze, 224
Rumbullion, 4
Rum Row, 4, 42, 43
Rum Runner, 4, 64

St. Eustatia, 112
Sack, 14
Saffin, Judge, 103, 104, 105
Salem, 64
Samboes, 152
Samuel Sewall, Judge, 103, 104, 105
Sanderson, voyage of, 89 ff., 172
Sangaree, 12
Saville, Sir George, 158
Scott, Captain George, 36
Seven Years' War, 47
Shackles and handcuffs, 108, 156, 158
Sharp, Granville, 157, 158
Sierra Leone, 52, 92, 93, 111, 127
Simpson, John, 126
Six Nations, 22-26
Slaves, 27, 33-34-35-36-51-52, 83, 94, 105, 111, 119 ff.; imported into Mass., 102-104
Slave Ships, 171 ff.
Slave Trade, 52, 53, 54, 106 ff., 149 ff.
Sleighing, 234, 235

Smith, Adam, 37
Smuggling, 39-43, 60, 63-65; Faneuil's operations in, 88, 89
Society for Abolition of African Slave Trade, 157
South Carolina, 66
Spain, 155, 157, 165
Spears, John R., 162
Spry, William, 61
Stamp Act, 62, 67, 75, 76
Stanwood, Dr. Joseph, 75
Stiles, Dr. H. R., on bundling, 238
Stone-wall, 224
Sugar, 5, 35, 37, 38
Sugar Act (1763), 59, 60, 62, 66, 70
Swansey, Mass., 101
Switchel, 224

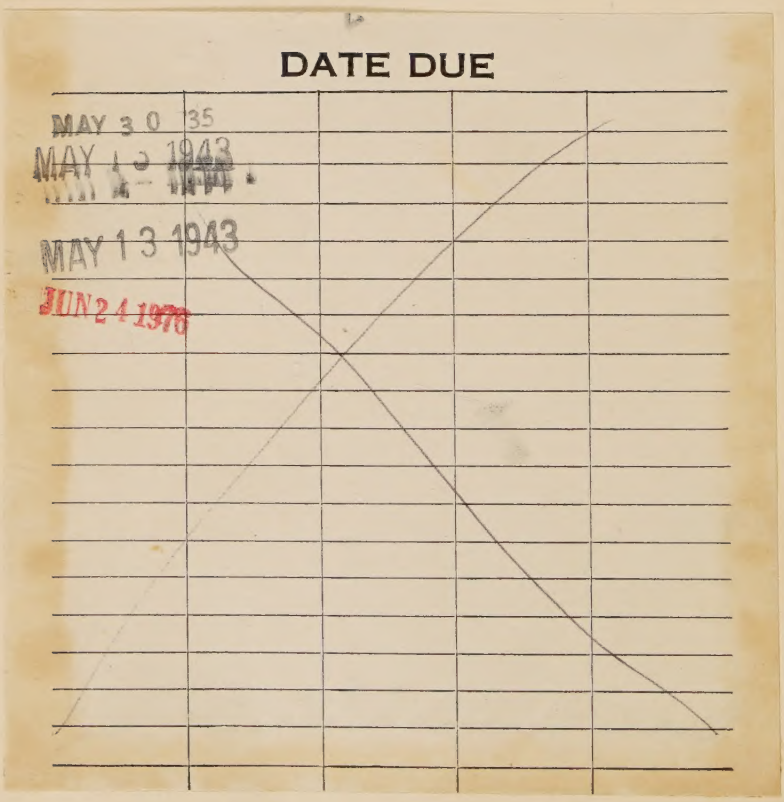
Taverns, John Adams on, 8, 70, 72, 75; Wolfe, 75, Dr. Johnson on, 203; Elizabethan, 203, 204; 203 ff.
Taverns, Colonial, 203 ff.; John Adams on, 8, 70, 72, 75; Dr. Johnson on, 203
Taverns, Elizabethan, 203, 204
Tavern, Wolfe, 75
"Taxation without representation," 59
Tenison, Thomas, 4-6
Toddy, 12, 73, 221, 222
Townshend Acts (1767), 67
Treasurer, British ship, 171
Tuell, Captain, 109

Usher, 233

Venery, immoderate use of, 7; John Adams on, 242, 243
Vernon, Admiral Edward, 221
Virginia, drinking habits in, 11, 12, 13; Wyatt, Gov. of, 26
Vyall, John, of Boston, 205

Wallace, Captain James, 67
Walton, John, on rum, 69
Wanton, 106
Warville, 159, 160
Washington, George, rum and molasses, 26, 27, 28; on the value of rum, 37; Virginians loved molasses, 68; elections and rum, 76, 77
Weeden, W. B., 18, 32, 33, 64; on importance of rum as cause of Revolution, 62; on Faneuil, 84, 87; on Mass. slave trade, 102, 103
Welcome, vessel, 172
West Indies, 35, 36, 39, 45, 46, 60, 69, 92, 108, 111
Whipple, Abraham, 65, 67
Whistle-belly-vengeance, 224
Whydah, 111, 120
Wilberforce, William, 158
Wilkinson, 106
Wilkinson, Captain, 88
William IV, 158
Wilson, Woodrow, on molasses act, 70
Winthrop, Governor, 172
Wolfe Tavern, 75
Woolman, John, on rum and Indians, 21; on slave trade, 44, 45, 46, 47
Writs of Assistance, James Otis on, 61, 62
Wyatt, Sir Francis, Governor of Virginia, 26

York, Duke of, 32
Young, Sir George, 182


DATE DUE
MAY 30 '35
MAY 13 1943
MAY 13 1943
JUN 24 1976

E
187
T5
HOLY APOSTLES COLLEGE LIBRARY